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Old-Time Classics

THE

HISTORIES OF HERODOTUS

SELECTED AND EDITED

BY

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HEAD-MASTER BERKELEY SCHOOL; EDITOR OF THE BOYS' AND GIRLS' PLUTARCH

WITH SIXTY-ONE ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

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THALIA.

(*CONTINUED.*)

CHAPTER XV.

USURPATION OF SMERDIS THE MAGUS AND ACCESSION OF DARIUS.

WHILE Cambyses, son of Cyrus, tarried in Egypt, and was acting madly, two magi, who were brothers, revolted. One of these, Cambyses had left steward of his palace, the other was a person very much like Smerdis, son of Cyrus, whom Cambyses, his own brother, had put to death. The magus Patizithes, having persuaded this man that he would manage everything for him, set him on the throne; and sent heralds in various directions, particularly to Egypt, to proclaim to the army that they must in future obey Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and not Cambyses. The herald who was appointed to Egypt, finding Cambyses and his army at Ecbatana in Syria, stood in the midst and proclaimed what had been ordered by the magus. Cambyses, believing that he spoke the truth,

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and that he had himself been betrayed by Prexaspes, and that he, when sent to kill Smerdis, had not done so, looked toward Prexaspes, and said: "Prexaspes, hast thou thus performed the business I enjoined upon thee?" But he answered: "Sire, it is not true that your brother Smerdis has revolted against you, nor that you can have any quarrel, great or small, with him. For I myself put your order into execution, and buried him with my own hands. I think I understand the whole matter, O king: the magi are the persons who have revolted against you, — Patizithes, whom you left steward of the palace, and his brother Smerdis." When Cambyses heard the name of Smerdis, the truth of this account and of the dream struck him: for he fancied in his sleep that some one announced to him that Smerdis, seated on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. Perceiving, therefore, that he had destroyed his brother without a cause, he wept bitterly for him, deplored the whole calamity, and leapt upon his horse, resolving with all speed to march to Susa against the magus. But as he was leaping on his horse, the chape of his sword's scabbard fell off, and the blade, being laid bare, struck the thigh; wounding him in that part where he himself had formerly smitten the Egyptian god Apis. Mortally wounded, he asked what was the name of the city. They said it was Ecbatana. And it had been before prophesied to him from the city of Buto, that he should end his life in Ecbatana.

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He had imagined that he should die, an old man, in Ecbatana of Media, where all his treasures were; but the oracle in truth meant in Ecbatana of Syria. When he had thus been informed of the name of the city, though smitten by misfortune, he returned to his right mind, and, comprehending the oracle, said: "Here it is fated that Cambyses, son of Cyrus, should die."

Twenty days later he summoned the principal men of the Persians who were with him, told them his vision and his great mistake, shed bitter tears, and charged them never to permit the government to return into the hands of the Medes. When the Persians saw their king weep, all rent the garments they had on, and gave themselves up to lamentation. Soon the bone became infected, the thigh mortified, and Cambyses, son of Cyrus, died, after he had reigned in all seven years and five months, having never had any children. Great incredulity stole over the Persians who were present, as to the story that the magi had possession of the government, and agreed that it must be Smerdis, son of Cyrus, who had risen up and seized the kingdom. Prexaspes, moreover, vehemently denied that he had killed Smerdis; for it was not safe for him, now that Cambyses was dead, to own that he had killed the son of Cyrus with his own hand.

The magus, after the death of Cambyses, relying on his having the same name as Smerdis the son of

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Cyrus, reigned securely during the seven months that remained to complete the eighth year of Cambyses; in which time he treated all his subjects with such beneficence that, at his death, all the people of Asia, except the Persians, regretted his loss. For the magus, on assuming the sovereignty, despatched messengers to every nation he ruled over, and proclaimed a general exemption from military service and tribute for the space of three years. But in the eighth month he was discovered in the following manner. Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, was by birth and fortune equal to the first of the Persians. This Otanes first suspected the magus not to be Smerdis the son of Cyrus, from the fact that he never went out of the citadel, and that he never summoned any of the principal men of Persia to his presence. Having conceived suspicion of him, he contrived the following artifice. Cambyses had married his daughter, whose name was Phædyma; the magus of course had her as his wife, as well as all the rest of the wives of Cambyses. Otanes, therefore, sending to his daughter, inquired whether her husband was Smerdis, son of Cyrus, or some other person; she sent back word to him, saying that she did not know. Otanes sent a second time, saying: "If you do not yourself know Smerdis, son of Cyrus, then inquire of Atossa, for she must of necessity know her own brother." To this his daughter replied: "I can neither have any conversation with Atossa, nor see any of the women who used to live with me;

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for as soon as this man, whoever he is, succeeded to the throne, he dispersed us all, assigning us separate apartments." When Otanes heard this, the matter appeared much more plain; and he sent a third message to her in these words: "Daughter, it becomes you, being of noble birth, to undertake any peril that your father may require you to incur. For if this Smerdis is not the son of Cyrus, but the person whom I suspect, it is not fit that he should escape with impunity, but suffer the punishment due to his offences. Now follow my directions. Watch your opportunity, and whenever you discover him to be sound asleep, touch his ears; and if you find he has ears, be assured that he is Smerdis, son of Cyrus; but if he has none, then he is Smerdis the magus." To this message Phædyma answered, saying "that she should incur very great danger by doing so; for he kept the sides of his head concealed, and if he had no ears, and she should be discovered touching him, she well knew that he would put her to death; nevertheless she would make the attempt." Cyrus, during his reign, had cut off the ears of this Smerdis, the magus, for some grave offence. Phædyma, therefore, determining to execute all that she had promised her father, catching the magus sound asleep on his couch one day, felt for his ears, and perceiving without any difficulty that the man had no ears, as soon as it was day, she sent and made known to her father what the case was.

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Thereupon Otanes, having taken with him Aspathines and Gobryas, who were the noblest of the Persians, and persons on whom he could best rely, related to them the whole affair; and they agreed that each should associate with himself a Persian in whom he could place most reliance. Otanes accordingly introduced Intaphernes; Gobryas, Megabyzus; and Aspathines, Hydarnes. Just at this time, Darius, son of Hystaspes, arrived at Susa from Persia, where his father was governor, and the six Persians determined to admit Darius to the confederacy. These seven met, exchanged pledges with each other, and conferred together. When it came to the turn of Darius to declare his opinion, he addressed them as follows: "I thought that I was the only person who knew that it was the magus who reigns, and that Smerdis, son of Cyrus, is dead; and for this very reason I hastened hither in order to contrive the death of the magus. But since it proves that you also are acquainted with the fact, it appears to me that we should act immediately." Otanes said to this: "Son of Hystaspes, you are born of a noble father, and show yourself not at all inferior to him; do not, however, so inconsiderately hasten this enterprise, but set about it with more caution; for we must increase our numbers, and then attempt it." Darius replied to this: "Be assured, ye men who are here present, if you adopt the plan proposed by Otanes, you will all miserably perish; for some one will discover it to

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the magus, consulting his own private advantage; indeed, you ought to have carried out your project immediately, without communicating it to any one else; but since you have thought fit to refer it to others, and have disclosed it to me, let us carry it out this very day, or be assured that if this day passes over, no one shall be beforehand with me and become my accuser, but I myself will denounce you to the magus." Otanes, seeing Darius so eager, replied: "Since you compel us to precipitate our enterprise, and will not permit us to defer it, tell us in what way we are to enter the palace and attack him; for you yourself know that guards are stationed at intervals; and how shall we pass them?" "There are many things," said Darius, "that cannot be made clear by words, but may by action; and there are other things that seem practicable in description, but no signal effect proceeds from them. Be assured that the guards stationed there will not be at all difficult to pass by: for in the first place, seeing our rank, there is no one who will not allow us to pass, partly from respect, and partly from fear; and in the next place, I have a most specious pretext by which we shall gain admission, for I will say that I have just arrived from Persia, and wish to report a message to the king from my father. For when a lie must be told, let it be told. Whoever of the doorkeepers shall willingly let us pass, shall be rewarded in due time; but whoever offers to oppose us must instantly be treated as an

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enemy." After this Gobryas said: "Friends, shall we ever have a better opportunity to recover the sovereign power, or if we shall be unable to do so, to die? seeing we who are Persians are governed by an earless Medic magus. Those among you who were present with Cambyses when he lay sick, well remember the imprecations he uttered at the point of death against the Persians, if they should not attempt to repossess themselves of the sovereign power: we did not then believe this story, but thought that Cambyses spoke from ill will. I give my voice that we yield to Darius, and that on breaking up this conference we go direct to the magus." And all assented to his proposal.

Meantime the magi, on consultation, determined to make Prexaspes their friend: both because he had suffered grievous wrong from Cambyses, who shot his son dead with an arrow; and because he alone of all the Persians knew of the death of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, as he had despatched him with his own hand; and moreover Prexaspes was in high repute with the Persians. Therefore, having sent for Prexaspes, they endeavored to win his friendship, binding him by pledges and oaths that he would never divulge to any man the cheat they had put upon the Persians, assuring him that in return they would give him every thing his heart could desire. When Prexaspes had promised that he would do as the magi wished, they made a second proposal, saying that they would as-

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MAMELUKE TOMB, CAIRO.

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semble all the Persians under the walls of the palace, and desired that he would ascend a tower, and assure them that they were governed by Smerdis, son of Cyrus. Prexaspes assented, and the magi, having convoked the Persians, placed him on the top of a turret, and commanded him to harangue the people. But he purposely forgot what they desired him to say, and, beginning from Achæmenes, described the genealogy of Cyrus' family; told them what great benefits Cyrus had done the Persians; and finally declared the whole truth, saying that he had before concealed it, as it was not safe for him to tell what had happened; but that in the present emergency necessity constrained him to make it known. He accordingly told them that he, being compelled by Cambyses, had put Smerdis, son of Cyrus, to death, and that it was the magi who then reigned. After he had uttered many imprecations against the Persians, if they should not recover back the sovereign power, and punish the magi, he threw himself headlong from the tower. Thus died Prexaspes, a man highly esteemed during the course of his whole life.

The seven Persians, resolving to attack the magi without delay, had offered prayers to the gods, and were in the midst of their way when they were informed of all that Prexaspes had done, whereupon they again conferred together; and some, with Otanes, strongly advised to defer the enterprise while affairs were in such a ferment; but others, with Da-

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rius, urged to proceed at once. While hotly disputing there appeared seven pairs of hawks pursuing two pairs of vultures, and plucking and tearing them. The seven, on seeing this, all approved the opinion of Darius, and forthwith proceeded to the palace, emboldened by the omen. When they approached the gates, it happened as Darius had supposed; for the guards, out of respect for men of highest rank among the Persians, and not suspecting any such design on their part, let them pass by, moved as they were by divine impulse; nor did any one question them. But when they reached the hall, they fell in with the eunuchs appointed to carry in messages, who inquired of them for what purpose they had come; and at the same time that they questioned them they threatened the doorkeepers for permitting them to pass, and endeavored to prevent the seven from proceeding any farther. They instantly drew their daggers, stabbed all that opposed their passage on the spot, and then rushed to the men's apartment. The magi happened to be both within at the time, and were consulting about the conduct of Prexaspes. But seeing the eunuchs in confusion, and hearing their outcry, they hurried out, and put themselves on the defensive. One snatched up a bow and the other a javelin, and the parties engaged with each other. The one who had taken up the bow, seeing his enemies were near and pressing upon them, found it of no use; but the other made resistance with his spear, and first wounded

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Aspathines in the thigh, and next Intaphernes in the eye: and Intaphernes lost his eye from the wound, but did not die. The other magus, when he found his bow of no service, fled to a chamber adjoining the men's apartment, purposing to shut to the door, and two of the seven, Darius and Gobryas, rushed in with him; and as Gobryas was grappling with the magus, Darius standing by was in perplexity, fearing that he should strike Gobryas in the dark; but Gobryas seeing that he stood by inactive, asked him why he did not use his hand. He answered: "Fearing for you, lest I should strike you." "Never mind," said Gobryas, "drive your sword through both of us." Darius obeyed, thrust with his dagger, and by good fortune hit the magus.

Having slain the magi, and cut off their heads, they left the wounded of their own party there, as well on account of their exhaustion as to guard the acropolis; but the other five of them, carrying the heads of the magi, ran out with shouting and clamor, and called upon the rest of the Persians, relating what they had done, and showing them the heads; and at the same time they slew every one of the magi that came in their way. The Persians, informed of what had been done by the seven, and of the fraud of the magi, determined themselves also to do the like; and having drawn their daggers, they slew every magus they could find; and if the night coming on had not prevented, they would not have

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left a single magus alive. This day the Persians observe in common more than any other, and in it they celebrate a great festival, which they call "The Slaughter of the Magi." On that day no magus is allowed to be seen in public.

When the tumult had subsided, and five days had elapsed, those who had risen up against the magi deliberated on the state of affairs. Otanes advised that they should commit the government to the Persians at large, "for," said he, "how can a monarchy be a well-constituted government, where one man is allowed to do whatever he pleases without control?" Megabyzus advised them to entrust the government to an oligarchy, and said: "Let us choose an association of the best men, and commit the sovereign power to them, for among them we ourselves shall be included, and it is reasonable to expect that the best counsels will proceed from the best men." Darius expressed his opinion the third, saying: "What Megabyzus has said concerning the people was spoken rightly, but if three forms are proposed, and each the best in its kind, democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy, I contend that the last is far superior. For nothing can be found better than one man, who is the best; since, acting upon equally wise plans, he would govern the people without blame, and would keep his designs most secret from the ill-affected. But in an oligarchy, whilst many are exerting their energies for the public good, strong private enmities commonly spring

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up; for, each wishing to be chief, and to carry his own opinions, they come to deep animosities one against another, whence seditions arise; and from seditions, murder; and from murder recourse is always had to a monarchy; and thus it is proved that this form of government is the best. Also when the people rule, it is impossible that evil should not spring up, and powerful combinations, for they who injure the commonwealth act in concert; and this lasts until some one of the people stands forward and puts them down; and on this account, being admired by the people, he becomes a monarch; this again shows that a monarchy is best. Moreover, we should not subvert the institutions of our ancestors, when we see how good they are."

Four of the seven adhered to this opinion. Then said Otanes: "Associates, since it is evident that some one of us must be made king, I will not enter into competition with you; for I wish neither to govern nor be governed. But on this condition I give up all claim to the government, that neither I nor any of my posterity may be subject to any one of you." The six agreed to these terms, and he withdrew from the assembly; and this family alone, of all the Persians, retains its liberty to this day, and yields obedience only so far as it pleases, but without transgressing the laws of the Persians. The rest of the seven consulted how they might appoint a king on the most equitable terms, and they determined that

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Otanes and his posterity forever should be given a Median vest yearly, by way of distinction, together with all such presents as are accounted most honorable among the Persians, for he first advised the enterprise, and associated them together. And they made the resolution that every one of the seven should have liberty to enter into the palace without being introduced, and that the king should not be allowed to marry a wife out of any other family than of the conspirators. With regard to the kingdom, they determined that he whose horse should first neigh in the suburbs at sunrise, while they were mounted, should have the kingdom.

Darius had a groom, a shrewd man, whose name was Œbares, to whom, when the assembly had broken up, Darius said: "Œbares, we have determined that he whose horse shall neigh first at sunrise, when we ourselves are mounted, is to have the kingdom, Now, if you have any ingenuity, contrive that I may obtain this honor, and not another." Œbares answered: "If, sir, it depends on this, whether you shall be king or not, keep up your spirits: for no one else shall be king before you; I know a trick that will make him neigh." At dawn of day, the six, as they had agreed, met together on horseback; and as they were riding round the suburbs, Darius' horse, at the signal from Œbares, ran forward and neighed, and at that instant lightning and thunder came from a clear sky. These things consummated the auspices, as if done by ap-

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pointment, and the others, dismounting from their horses, did obeisance to Darius as king.

Accordingly Darius, son of Hystaspes, was declared king, and all the people of Asia, except the Arabians, were subject to him. The Arabians never submitted to the Persian yoke, but were on friendly terms, and gave Cambyses a free passage into Egypt; for with-

EGYPTIAN WAR CHARIOT, WARRIOR, AND HORSES.

out the consent of the Arabians the Persians could not have penetrated into Egypt. Darius contracted his first marriages with Persians; he married two daughters of Cyrus, Atossa and Artystona; Atossa, you remember, had been before married to her brother Cambyses, and afterward to the magus. He married another also, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, whose name was Parmys; and he had, besides, the

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daughter of Otanes who detected the magus. His power was fully established on all sides. He erected a stone statue, representing a man on horseback; and he had engraved on it the following inscription: "Darius, son of Hystaspes, by the sagacity of his horse (here mentioning the name), and by the address of Œbares, his groom, obtained the empire of the Persians." In Persia he constituted twenty governments, which they called satrapies; set governors over them, and appointed tributes to be paid to him from each. In consequence of this imposition of tribute, and other things of a similar kind, the Persians say Darius was a trader, Cambyses a master, and Cyrus a father. The first, because he made profit of everything; the second, because he was severe and arrogant; the last, because he was mild, and always aimed at the good of his people. If the total of all his revenues is computed together, fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Euboic talents were collected by Darius as an annual tribute,[1] passing over many small sums which I do not mention. This tribute accrued to Darius from Asia and a small part of Libya; but in the course of time another revenue accrued from the islands, and the inhabitants of Europe as far as Thessaly. This treasure the king melts and pours into earthen jars, and knocking away the earthen mould, when he wants money he cuts off as much as he has occasion to use.

[1] Nearly $18,000,000 in all.

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The Cilicians were required to send each year to Darius three hundred and sixty white horses, one for every day. The Persian territory alone was not subject to tribute; but the Persians brought gifts. The Ethiopians bordering on Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued when he marched against the Macrobian Ethiopians, and who dwell about the sacred city of Nysa, celebrate festivals of Bacchus, use the same grain as the Calantian Indians, and live in subterraneous dwellings. These brought every third year two chœnices of unmolten gold, two hundred blocks of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty large elephants' tusks.

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CHAPTER XVI.

INDIANS, ARABIANS, AND ETHIOPIANS.

THAT part of India toward the rising sun is all sand; for of the people with whom we are acquainted, and of whom any thing certain is told, the Indians live the farthest toward the east of all the inhabitants of Asia; and the Indians' country toward the east is a desert, by reason of the sands. There are many nations of Indians, and they do not all speak the same language; some of them are nomads, and they inhabit the marshes of the river, and feed on raw fish, which they take going out in boats made of bamboo, one joint of which makes a boat. These Indians wear a garment made of rushes cut from the river, beaten flat, platted like a mat, and worn as a corselet. Other Indians, living to the east of these, are nomads, and eat raw flesh: they are called Padæans. When any one of this community is sick, if it be a man, the men who are his nearest connections put him to death, alleging that if he wasted by disease his flesh would be spoiled: and no matter if he denies that he is sick, they are not likely to agree

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with him, but kill and feast upon him. And if a woman be sick, the women who are most intimate with her do the same as the men. And whoever reaches to old age, they sacrifice and feast upon; but few among them succeed in growing old, for before that every one that falls into any distemper is put to death. Other Indians have different customs: they neither kill any thing that has life, nor sow any thing, nor are they wont to have houses, but they live upon herbs and have a grain of the size of millet, in a pod, which springs spontaneously from the earth; this they gather, and boil and eat it with the pod. When any one of them falls ill, he goes and lies down in the desert, and no one takes any thought about him, whether dead or sick. All these Indians whom I have mentioned have a complexion closely resembling the Ethiopians. They are situated very far from the Persians, toward the south, and were never subject to Darius.

Those who border on the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyica are the most warlike of the Indians, and these are they who are sent to procure the gold. In this desert, and in the sand, there are ants in size somewhat less indeed than dogs, but larger than foxes. Some of them which were taken there are in the possession of the king of the Persians. These ants, forming their habitations under ground, heap up the sand, as the ants in Greece do, and in the same manner; and they are very much

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like them in shape. The sand thus heaped up is mixed with gold. The Indians go to the desert to get this sand, each man having three camels, on either side a male harnessed to draw by the side, and a female in the middle; this last the man mounts himself, having taken care to yoke one that has been separated from her young as recently born as possible; for camels are not inferior to horses in swiftness, and are much better able to carry burdens. What kind of figure the camel has I shall not describe to the Greeks, as they are acquainted with it; but what is not known respecting it, I will mention. A camel has four thighs and four knees in his hinder legs. The Indians, then, adopting such a plan of harnessing, set out for the gold, having before calculated the time, so as to be engaged in their plunder during the hottest part of the day, for during the heat the ants hide themselves under ground. Amongst these people the sun is hottest in the morning, and not, as with us, at mid-day; during this time it scorches much more than at mid-day in Greece; so that, it is said, they then refresh themselves in water. But as the day declines, the sun becomes to them as it is in the morning to others; and after this, as it proceeds, it becomes still colder, until sunset, then it is very cold. When the Indians arrive at the spot with their sacks, they fill them with the sand, and return as fast as possible. For the ants, as the Persians say, immediately discovering them by the smell, pursue them,

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and they are equalled in swiftness by no other animal, so that if the Indians did not get the start of the ants while they were assembling, not a man of them could be saved. Now the male camels (for they are inferior in speed to the females) would otherwise slacken their pace, dragging on, not both equally; but the females, mindful of the young they have left, do not slacken their pace. Thus the Indians obtain the greatest part of their gold.

The extreme parts of the inhabited world somehow possess the most excellent products; while Greece enjoys by far the best-tempered climate. In India, the farthest part of the inhabited world toward the east, all animals, both quadrupeds and birds, are much larger than they are in other countries, with the exception of horses; in this respect they are surpassed by the Medic breed called the Nysæan horses. Then there is an abundance of gold there, partly dug, partly brought down by the rivers, and partly seized in the manner I have described. And certain wild trees there bear wool instead of fruit, which in beauty and quality excels that of sheep; and the Indians make their clothing from these trees. Again, Arabia is the farthest of inhabited countries toward the south; and this is the only region in which grow frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and ledanum. All these except myrrh the Arabians gather with difficulty. The frankincense they gather by burning styrax, which the Phœnicians import into Greece.

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Winged serpents, small in size, and various in form, guard the trees that bear frankincense, a great number round each tree. These are the same serpents that invade Egypt. They are driven from the trees by nothing else but the smoke of the styrax. Vipers are found in all parts of the world; but flying serpents in Arabia, and nowhere else; there they appear to be very numerous.

The Arabians obtain the cassia, which grows in marshes or shallow lakes, by covering their whole body and face, except the eyes, with hides and skins, and thus avoiding the attacks of the winged animals, like bats, which infest the marshes, and screech fearfully, and are exceedingly fierce. The cinnamon they collect in a still more wonderful manner. Where it grows and what land produces it they are unable to tell; except that some say it grows in those countries in which Bacchus was nursed. Large birds bring those rolls of bark, which we, from the Phœnicians, call cinnamon, for their nests, which are built with clay, against precipitous mountains, where there is no access for man. The Arabians, to surmount this difficulty, cut up into large pieces the limbs of dead oxen, and asses, and other beasts of burden, carry them to these spots, lay them near the nests, and retire to a distance. The birds fly down and carry

MILITARY DRUM.

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up the limbs of the beasts to their nests, which not being strong enough to support the weight, break and fall to the ground. Then the men, coming up, gather the cinnamon, much of which they export to other countries. Still more wonderful is the fragrant ledanum. For it is found sticking like gum to the beards of he-goats, which collect it from the wood. It is useful for many ointments, and the Arabians burn it very generally as a perfume. They are famous for their perfumes; and there breathes from Arabia, as it were, a divine odor. They have two kinds of sheep worthy of admiration, which are seen nowhere else. One kind has large tails, not less than three cubits in length, which, if suffered to trail, would ulcerate, by the tails rubbing on the ground. But every shepherd knows enough of the carpenter's art to prevent this, for they make little carts and fasten them under the tails, binding the tail of each separate sheep to a separate cart. The other kind of sheep have broad tails, even to a cubit in breadth. Where the meridian declines[1] toward the setting sun, the Ethiopian territory extends, being the extreme part of the habitable world. It produces much gold, huge elephants, wild trees of all kinds, ebony, and men of large stature, very handsome, and long-lived.

Such are the extremities of Asia and Libya. Concerning the western extremities of Europe I am una-

[1] That is, "southwest."

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ble to speak with certainty, for I do not admit that there is a river, called by barbarians Eridanus, which discharges itself into the sea toward the north, from which amber is said to come; nor am I acquainted with the Cassiterides islands, whence our tin comes. For, in the first place, the name Eridanus shows that it is Grecian and not barbarian, and coined by some poet; in the next place, though I have diligently inquired, I have never been able to hear from any man who has himself seen it, that there is a sea on that side of Europe. However, both tin and amber come to us from the remotest parts. Toward the north of Europe there is evidently a very great quantity of gold, but how procured I am unable to say with certainty; though it is said that the Arimaspians, a one-eyed people, steal it from the griffins. Nor do I believe this, that any men are born with one eye, and yet in other respects resemble the rest of mankind. However, the extremities of the world seem to surround and enclose the rest of the earth, and to possess those productions which we account most excellent and rare.

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CHAPTER XVII.

REIGN OF DARIUS TO THE TAKING OF BABYLON.

Of the seven men that conspired against the magus, it happened that one of them, Intaphernes, by an act of insolence, lost his life shortly after the revolution. He wished to enter the palace in order to confer with Darius; but the door-keeper and the messenger would not let him pass, saying that the king was engaged; but Intaphernes, suspecting they told a falsehood, drew his scimetar, cut off their ears and noses, and having strung them to straps taken from his bridle, hung them round their necks, and dismissed them. They presented themselves to the king, and told him the cause for which they had been so treated. Darius, fearing lest the six had done this in concert, sent for them one by one, and endeavored to discover whether they approved of what had been done. When he found that Intaphernes had not done this with their knowledge, he seized Intaphernes himself, and his children, and all his family, having many reasons to suspect that he, with his relations,

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would raise a rebellion against him. And he bound them as for death: but the wife of Intaphernes, going to the gates of the palace, wept and lamented aloud, and prevailed on Darius to have compassion on her. He therefore sent a messenger to say as follows: "Madam, king Darius allows you to release one of your relations who are now in prison, whichever of them all you please." She deliberated, and answered: "Since the king grants me the life of one, I choose my brother from them all." Darius, wondering at her choice, asked: "Madam, the king inquires the reason why, leaving your husband and children, you have chosen that your brother should survive; who is not so near related to you as your children, and less dear to you than your husband?" "O king," she answered, "I may have another husband if God will, and other children if I lose these; but as my father and mother are no longer alive, I cannot by any means have another brother; for this reason I spoke as I did." This pleased Darius so well that he granted to her the one whom she asked, and also her eldest son; all the rest he put to death.

It happened not long after this that Darius, in leaping from his horse while hunting, twisted his foot with such violence that the ankle-bone was dislocated. At first, thinking he had about him Egyptians who had the first reputation for skill in the healing art, he made use of their assistance. But they, by twisting the foot, and using force, made the evil worse;

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and from the pain which he felt, Darius lay seven days and seven nights without sleep. On the eighth day, as he still continued in a bad state, some one who had before heard at Sardis of the skill of Democedes the Crotonian, made it known to Darius; and he ordered them to bring him to him as quickly as possible. They found him among the slaves altogether neglected; and brought him forward, dragging fetters behind him, and clothed in rags. As he stood before him Darius asked him whether he understood the art. He denied that he did, fearing lest, if he discovered himself, he should be altogether precluded from returning to Greece. But he appeared to Darius to dissemble, although he was skilled in the art; he therefore commanded those who had brought him thither to bring out whips and goads. Whereupon he owned up, saying that he did not know it perfectly, but having been intimate with a physician, he had some poor knowledge of the art. Upon which Darius put himself under his care, and by using Grecian medicines, and applying lenitives after violent remedies, he caused him to sleep, and in a little time restored him to his health, though Darius had begun to despair of ever recovering the use of his foot. After this cure, Darius presented him with two pairs of golden fetters; but Democedes asked him if he purposely gave him a double evil because he had restored him to health. Darius, pleased with the speech, introduced him to his wives, with the remark

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Signs in common use.	Signs employed more rarely.	Equivalent in English.
	—	A (as in father).
	—	I (sounded as ee in see).
	—	U (sounded as oo in food).
		B
		P
	—	F
		G (deep guttural).
		K
		KH (sounded like the Hebrew ח).
		D
		T
		M
		N
	—	L
		S
	—	SH
		H
		J

ALPHABET.

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that this was the man who had saved the king's life; whereupon each of them dipped a goblet into a chest of gold, and presented it brimful to Democedes — so munificent a gift, that a servant named Sciton, following behind, picked up enough staters that fell from the goblets to make him a rich man.

This Democedes had been so harshly treated at Crotona by his father, who was of a severe temper, that he left him and went to Ægina; having settled there, in the first year, though he was unprovided with means, and had none of the instruments necessary for the exercise of his art, he surpassed the most skilful of their physicians. In the second year, the Æginetæ engaged him for a talent out of the public treasury; and in the third year the Athenians, for a hundred minæ; and in the fourth year Polycrates, for two talents; thus he came to Samos. From this man the Crotonian physicians obtained a great reputation: for at this period the physicians of Crotona were said to be the first throughout Greece, and the Cyrenæans the second. At the same time the Argives were accounted the most skilful of the Greeks in the art of music. Democedes, having completely cured Darius at Susa, had a very large house, and a seat at the king's table; and he had every thing he could wish for, except the liberty of returning to Greece. He obtained from the king a pardon for the Egyptian physicians who first attended the king, and were about to be empaled, because they had been out-

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done by a Greek physician; and in the next place he procured the liberty of a prophet of Elis, who had attended Polycrates, and lay neglected among the slaves. In short, Democedes had great influence with the king.

Not long after, Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife to Darius, had a tumor on her breast; after some time it burst, and spread considerably. As long as it was small, she concealed it, and from delicacy informed no one of it; when it became dangerous, she sent for Democedes and showed it to him. He said that he could cure her, but exacted a solemn promise that she in return would perform for him whatever he should require of her, but added that he would ask nothing which might bring disgrace on her. When therefore he had healed her, and restored her to health, Atossa, instructed by Democedes, addressed Darius in the following words: "O king, you, who possess so great power, sit idle, and do not add any nation or power to the Persians. It is right that a man who is both young and master of such vast treasures should render himself considerable by his actions, that the Persians may know that they are governed by a man. Two motives should influence you to such a course: first, that the Persians may know that it is a worthy man who rules over them; and secondly, that they may be worn in war, and not tempted by too much ease to plot against you. You must perform some illustrious action while you are in

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the flower of your age; for the mind grows with the growth of the body, and as it grows old, grows old with it, and dull for every action." She spoke thus according to her instructions, and he answered: "Lady, you have mentioned the very things that I myself propose to do: for I have determined to make a bridge and march from this continent to the other, against the Scythians; and this shall shortly be put in execution." Atossa replied: "Give up the thought of marching first against the Scythians, for they will be in your power whenever you choose; but take my advice, and lead an army into Greece; for from the account I have heard, I am anxious to have Lacedæmonian, Argive, Athenian, and Corinthian attendants: and you have the fittest man in the world to show and inform you of every thing concerning Greece: I mean the person who cured your foot." Said Darius: "Well, since you think I ought to make my first attempt against Greece, I think it better first to send some Persians thither as spies with the man you mention: they, when they are informed of and have seen every particular, will make a report to me; and then, being thoroughly informed, I will turn my arms against them." No sooner said than done; for as soon as day dawned, he summoned fifteen eminent Persians, and commanded them to accompany Democedes along the maritime parts of Greece; and to take care that Democedes did not escape from them, but they must by all means bring him back again. He next

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summoned Democedes himself, and requested that when he should have conducted the Persians through all Greece, and shown it to them, to return; he also commanded him to take with him all his movables as presents to his father and brothers, promising to give him many times as much instead. Moreover, he said that for the purpose of transporting the presents he would give a merchant-ship, filled with all kinds of precious things, which should accompany him on his voyage. Now Darius, in my opinion, promised him these things without any deceitful intention; but Democedes, fearing lest Darius was making trial of him, received all that was given, without eagerness, but said that he would leave his own goods where they were, that he might have them on his return; the merchant-ship he said he would accept.

In Sidon, a city of Phœnicia, they manned two triremes, and with them also a large trading vessel, laden with all kinds of precious things: and set sail for Greece. Keeping to the shore, they surveyed the coasts, and made notes in writing; at length, having inspected the greatest part of it, and whatever was most remarkable, they proceeded to Tarentum in Italy. There, out of kindness toward Democedes, Aristophilides, king of the Tarentines, took off the rudders of the Median ships, and shut up the Persians as spies While they were in this condition Democedes went to Crotona, and when he had reached his own home, Aristophilides set the Persians at liberty,

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and restored what he had taken from their ships. The Persians pursuing Democedes arrived at Crotona, found him in the public market, and laid hands on him. Some of the Crotonians, dreading the Persian power, were ready to deliver him up; but others seized the Persians in turn, and beat them with staves, though they expostulated in these terms: "Men of Crotona, have a care what you do; you are rescuing a man who is a runaway from the king; how will king Darius endure to be thus insulted? How can what you do end well, if you force this man from us? What city shall we sooner attack than this? What sooner shall we endeavor to reduce to slavery?" But they could not persuade the Crotonians; so launching a small boat they sailed back to Asia; nor, as they were deprived of their guide, did they attempt to explore Greece any further. At their departure, Democedes enjoined them to tell Darius that he had Milo's daughter affianced to him as his wife, for the name of Milo, the wrestler, stood high with the king; and on this account it appears to me that Democedes spared no expense to hasten this marriage, that he might appear to Darius to be a man of consequence in his own country.

After these things, king Darius took Samos, first of all the cities, either Grecian or barbarian, and for the following reason. When Cambyses, son of Cyrus, invaded Egypt, many Greeks resorted thither; some, as one may conjecture, on account of trade;

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others to serve as soldiers; others to view the country. Of these, the last was Syloson, son of Æaces, brother to Polycrates, and an exile from Samos. The following piece of good luck befell this Syloson: having put on a scarlet cloak, he walked in the streets of Memphis; and Darius, who was one of Cambyses' guard, and as yet a man of no great account, took a fancy to the cloak, and, coming up, wished to purchase it. But Syloson, perceiving that Darius was very anxious to have the cloak, impelled by a divine impulse, said: "I will not sell it for any sum, but I will give it you for nothing, if so it must needs be." Darius accepted his offer with thanks and took the cloak. Syloson thought afterward that he had lost it through his good nature, but when in course of time Cambyses died, and the seven rose up against the magus, and of the seven Darius possessed the throne, Syloson heard that the kingdom had devolved on the man to whom he had given his cloak in Egypt on his requesting it; so he went up to Susa and seated himself at the threshold of the king's palace, and said he had been a benefactor to Darius. The porter reported it to the king; who said: "What Greek is my benefactor, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude, having so lately come to the throne? Scarcely one of them has as yet come here; nor can I mention any thing that I owe to a Greek. However, bring him in, that I may know the meaning of what he says." The porter introduced Sylo-

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son, who related the story of the cloak, and said that he was the person who gave it. "Most generous of men!" exclaimed the king, "art thou then the man who, when as yet I had no power, made me a present, small as it was? yet the obligation is the same as if I were now to receive a thing of great value. In return I will give thee abundance of gold and silver, so that thou shalt never repent having conferred a favor on Darius, son of Hystaspes." To this Syloson replied: "O king, give me neither gold nor silver; but recover and give me back my country, Samos, which now, since my brother Polycrates died by the hands of Orœtes, a slave of ours has possessed. Give me this without bloodshed and bondage." Then Darius sent an army under the conduct of Otanes, one of the seven, with orders to accomplish whatever Syloson should desire.

Mæandrius held the government of Samos, having had the administration entrusted to him by Polycrates: though he wished to prove himself the most just of men, he was unable to effect his purpose. For when the death of Polycrates was made known to him, he erected an altar to Jupiter Liberator, and marked round it the sacred enclosure, which is now in the suburbs. Afterward, he summoned an assembly of all the citizens, and said: "To me, as you know, the sceptre and all the power of Polycrates has been entrusted, and I am now able to retain the government. But what I condemn in another, I will myself, to the

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utmost of my ability, abstain from doing. For neither did Polycrates please me in exercising despotic power over men equal to himself, nor would any other who should do the like. Now Polycrates has accomplished his fate; and I, surrendering the government into your hands, proclaim equality to all. I require, however, that the following remuneration should be granted to myself; that six talents should be given me out of the treasures of Polycrates, and, in addition, I claim for myself and my descendants for ever the priesthood of the temple of Jupiter Liberator, to whom I have erected an altar, and under whose auspices I restore to you your liberties." But one of them rising up, said, "You forsooth are not worthy to rule over us, being as you are a base and pestilent fellow; rather think how you will render an account of the wealth that you have had the management of." Thus spoke a man of eminence among the citizens, whose name was Telesarchus. But Mæandrius, perceiving that if he should lay down the power, some other would set himself up as a tyrant in his place, no longer thought of laying it down. To which end, when he had withdrawn to the citadel, sending for each one severally, as if about to give an account of the treasures, he seized them and put them in chains. They were kept in confinement; but after this, disease attacked Mæandrius; and his brother, whose name was Lycaretus, supposing that he would die, in order that he might the more easily possess himself of

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the government of Samos, put all the prisoners to death; for, as it seems, they were not willing to be free.

When the Persians arrived at Samos, bringing Syloson with them, no one raised a hand against them, and the partisans of Mæandrius, and Mæandrius himself, said they were ready to quit the island under a treaty; and when Otanes had assented to this, and had ratified the agreement, the principal men of the Persians, having had seats placed for them, sat down opposite the citadel. The tyrant Mæandrius had a brother somewhat out of his senses, whose name was Charilaus; he, for some fault he had committed, was confined in a dungeon; and having at that time overheard what was doing, and having peeped through his dungeon, when he saw the Persians sitting quietly down, he shouted and said that he wished to speak with Mæandrius. Mæandrius commanded him to be released and brought into his presence; and as soon as he was brought there, upbraiding and reviling his brother, he urged him to attack the Persians, saying: "Me, O vilest of men, who am your own brother, and have done nothing worthy of bonds, you have bound and adjudged to a dungeon; but when you see the Persians driving you out and making you houseless, you dare not avenge yourself, though they are so easy to be subdued. But if you are in dread of them, lend me your auxiliaries, and I will punish them for coming here, and I am

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ready also to send you out of the island." Mæandrius accepted his offer, as I think, not that he had reached such a pitch of folly as to imagine that his own power could overcome that of the king, but rather out of envy to Syloson, if without a struggle he should possess himself of the city uninjured. Having therefore provoked the Persians, he wished to make the Samian power as weak as possible, and then give it up; being well assured that the Persians, if they suffered any ill-treatment, would be exasperated against the Samians; and knowing also that he himself had a safe retreat from the island, whenever he chose, for he had had a secret passage dug leading from the citadel to the sea. Accordingly Mæandrius himself sailed away from Samos; but Charilaus armed all the auxiliaries, threw open the gates, sallied out upon the Persians, who did not expect any thing of the kind, and slew those of the Persians who were seated in chairs, and who were the principal men among them. But the rest of the Persian army came to their assistance, and the auxiliaries, being hard pressed, were shut up again within the citadel. But Otanes, the general, when he saw that the Persians had suffered great loss, purposely neglected to obey the orders which Darius had given him at his departure, that he should neither kill nor take prisoner any of the Samians, but deliver the island to Syloson without damage; on the contrary, he commanded his army to put to death every one they met with, both man and child alike.

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Whereupon one part of the army besieged the citadel, and the rest killed every one that came in their way, all they met, as well within the temples as without. Mæandrius in the meantime sailed to Lacedæmon, and carried with him all his treasures. One day, when he had set out his silver and golden cups, his servants began to clean them; and he, at the same time, holding a conversation with Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, then king of Sparta, led him on to his house. When the king saw the cups, he was struck with wonder and astonishment; upon which Mæandrius bade him take whatever he pleased, and when Mæandrius had repeated this offer two or three times, Cleomenes showed himself a man of the highest integrity, for he refused to accept what was offered; and being informed that by giving to other citizens he would gain their support, he went to the Ephori, and said that it would be better for Sparta that this Samian stranger should quit the Peloponnesus, lest he should persuade him or some other of the Spartans to become base. They immediately banished Mæandrius by public proclamation. The Persians having drawn Samos as with a net, delivered it to Syloson, utterly destitute of inhabitants. Afterward, however, Otanes, the general, repeopled it, in consequence of a vision in a dream.

Whilst the naval armament was on its way to Samos, the Babylonians revolted, having very well prepared themselves. For during all the time the

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magus reigned, and the seven were rising up against him, they had made preparations for a siege, and somehow in the confusion this had escaped observation. But when they openly revolted they resorted to this extraordinary means of husbanding their resources: gathering together all the women, except their mothers, and one woman apiece besides, whom each one chose from his own family, they strangled them; the one woman each man selected to cook his food, and they strangled the rest that they might not consume their provisions. When Darius was informed of this, he collected all his forces, and marched against Babylon. But upon laying siege to them he found that they were not at all solicitous about the event, for the Babylonians mounted the ramparts, and danced, and derided Darius and his army, and cried: "Why sit ye there, Persians? will ye not be off? It will be a long day before you will take us."

When the nineteenth month of the siege had passed, Zopyrus, son of that Megabyzus, who was one of the seven who dethroned the magus, went to Darius and asked him whether he deemed the taking of Babylon of very great importance. Learning that he valued it at a high price, he went away and inflicted on himself an irremediable mutilation, for he cut off his nose and ears, chopped his hair in a disgraceful manner, scourged himself, and then presented himself before Darius. The latter was very much grieved when he beheld a man of high rank so mutilated, and starting

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from his throne, he shouted aloud and asked who had mutilated him, and for what cause. He answered: "O king, there is no man except yourself who could have power to treat me thus; no stranger has done it, but I myself, deeming it a great indignity that the Assyrians should deride the Persians." "Foolish man," said Darius, "because you are mutilated, will the enemy sooner submit? Have you lost your senses, that you have thus ruined yourself?" "If I had communicated to you what I was about to do," he answered, "you would not have permitted me, but now, if you are not wanting to your own interests, we shall take Babylon. For I, as I am, will desert to the city, and will tell them that I have been thus treated by you; and I think that when I have persuaded them that such is the case, I shall obtain the command of their army. Do you then, on the tenth day after I shall have entered the city, station a thousand men of that part of your army whose loss you would least regret, over against the gates called after Semiramis; again, on the seventh day after the tenth, station two thousand more against the gate called from Nineveh; and from the seventh day let an interval of twenty days elapse, and then place four thousand more against the gate called from the Chaldeans; but let them carry no defensive arms except swords. After the twentieth day, command the rest of the army to invest the wall on all sides, but station the Persians for me at those called the Belidian and Cissian

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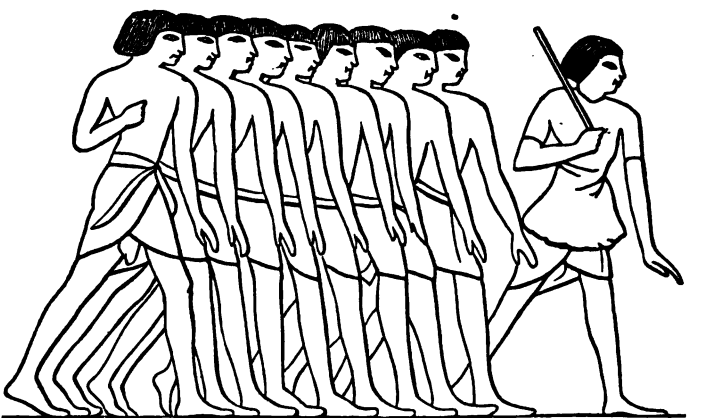
gates; for, as I think, when I have performed great exploits, the Babylonians will entrust everything to me, and, moreover, the keys of the gates, and then it will be mine and the Persians' care to do what remains to be done."

Having given these injunctions, he went to the



INFANTRY DRILLED BY SERGEANT.

gates, turning round as if he were really a deserter. Those who were stationed in that quarter, seeing him from the turrets, ran down and opened one door of the gate a little, asked him who he was, and for what purpose he came. He told them that he was Zopyrus, and had deserted to them: the door-keepers then conducted him to the assembly of the Babylonians,

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and, standing before them, he deplored his condition, saying that he had suffered from Darius these injuries, and that he was so treated because he had advised to raise the siege, since there appeared no means of taking the city. "Now, therefore," he said, "I come to you, O Babylonians, as your greatest blessing; and to Darius, his army, and the Persians, the greatest mischief; for he shall not escape with impunity, having thus mutilated me; and I am acquainted with all his designs." And the Babylonians, seeing a man of distinction among the Persians deprived of his ears and nose, and covered with stripes and blood, thoroughly believing that he spoke the truth, and that he had come as an ally to them, were ready to entrust him with whatever he should ask; and he, having obtained the command of the forces, acted as he had preconcerted with Darius; for on the tenth he led out the army of the Babylonians, and surrounded the thousand whom he had instructed Darius to station there, and cut them all in pieces. Then the Babylonians perceiving that he performed deeds such as he promised, were ready to obey him in everything. He then suffered the appointed number of days to elapse, and again selected a body of Babylonians, led them out, and slaughtered the two thousand of Darius' soldiers. The Babylonians, witnessing this action also, all had the praises of Zopyrus on their tongues. Then he again, after the appointed number of days had elapsed, led out his troops according to the settled plan, sur-

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rounded the four thousand, and cut them in pieces. And when he had accomplished this, Zopyrus was every thing to the Babylonians, and was appointed commander-in-chief and guardian of the walls. But when Darius, according to agreement, invested the wall all round, then Zopyrus discovered his whole treachery; for while the Babylonians, mounting the wall, repelled the army of Darius that was attacking them, Zopyrus opened the Cissian and Belidian gates, and led the Persians within the wall. Those of the Babylonians who saw what was done, fled into the temple of Jupiter Belus; and those who did not see it, remained each at his post, until they also discovered that they had been betrayed.

Thus Babylon was taken a second time. But when Darius had made himself master of the Babylonians, first of all, he demolished the walls and bore away all the gates, for when Cyrus had taken Babylon before, he did neither of these things; and secondly, Darius impaled about three thousand of the principal citizens, and allowed the rest of the Babylonians to inhabit the city. And that the Babylonians might have wives to take the place of those they had strangled, Darius ordered the neighboring provinces to send women to Babylon, taxing each at a certain number, so that a total of fifty thousand women came together: and from these the Babylonians of our time are descended. No Persian, in the opinion of Darius, either of those who came after, or who lived before,

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surpassed Zopyrus in great achievements, Cyrus only excepted; for with him no Persian ever ventured to compare himself. It is also reported that Darius frequently expressed this opinion, that he would rather Zopyrus had not suffered such ignominious treatment than acquire twenty Babylons in addition to that he had. And he honored him exceedingly; for he every year presented him with those gifts which are most prized by the Persians, and he assigned him Babylon to hold free from taxes during his life.

LIGHT ARMED TROOPS MARCHING.

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MELPOMENE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DESCRIPTION OF SCYTHIA AND THE NEIGHBORING NATIONS.

AFTER the capture of Babylon, Darius made an expedition against the Scythians, for as Asia was flourishing in men, and large revenues came in, Darius was desirous of revenging himself upon the Scythians, because they had formerly invaded the Median territory, and defeated in battle those that opposed them. For the Scythians ruled over Upper Asia for twenty-eight years. But when those Scythians returned to their own country, after such an interval, a task no less than the invasion of Media awaited them; for they found an army of no inconsiderable force ready to oppose them; the wives of the Scythians, seeing their husbands were a long time absent, had married their slaves. The Scythians deprive all their slaves of sight for the sake of the milk

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which they drink, doing as follows: when they have taken bone tubes very like flutes, they thrust them into the veins of the mares, and blow with their mouth; while some blow, others milk. They say they do this because the veins of the mare, being inflated, become filled, and the udder is depressed. When they have finished milking, they pour the milk into hollow wooden vessels, and having placed the blind men round about the vessels, they agitate the milk: then they skim off that which swims on the surface, considering it the most valuable, but that which subsides is of less value than the other. On this account the Scythians put out the eyes of every prisoner they take: for they are not agriculturists, but feeders of cattle. From these slaves then and the women a race of youths had grown up, who, when they knew their own extraction, opposed those who were returning from Media. And first they cut off the country by digging a wide ditch, stretching from Mount Taurus to the lake Mæotis, which is of great extent, and afterward encamping opposite, they came to an engagement with the Scythians, who were endeavoring to enter. When several battles had been fought, and the Scythians were unable to obtain any advantage, one of them said: "Men of Scythia, what are we doing? by fighting with our slaves not only are we ourselves, by being slain, becoming fewer in number, but by killing them we shall hereafter have fewer to rule over. So it seems to me that

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we should lay aside our spears and bows, and that every one, taking a horsewhip, should go directly to them; for so long as they saw us with arms, they considered themselves equal to us, and born of equal birth; but when they shall see us with our whips instead of arms, they will soon learn that they are our slaves and will no longer resist." The Scythians adopted the advice on the spot; and the slaves, struck with astonishment, forgot to fight, and fled.

As the Scythians say, theirs is the most recent of all nations. The first man that appeared in this country, which was a wilderness, was named Targitaus; they say that the parents of this Targitaus, in my opinion relating what is incredible, were Jupiter and a daughter of the river Borysthenes; and that Targitaus had three sons, who went by the names of Lipoxais, Apovais, and Colaxais: that during their reign a plough, a yoke, an axe, and a bowl of golden workmanship, dropping down from heaven, fell on the Scythian territory; that the eldest, seeing them first, approached, intending to take them up, but as he came near, the gold began to burn; when he had retired, the second went up, and it did the same again; but when the youngest approached, the burning gold became extinguished, and he carried the things home with him; and the elder brothers, in consequence of this, giving way, surrendered the whole authority to Colaxais the youngest. The Scythians reckon the whole number of years from their beginning, from

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King Targitaus to the time that Darius crossed over against them, to be just a thousand years. This sacred gold the kings watch with the greatest care, and annually approach it with magnificent sacrifices to render it propitious. If he who has the sacred gold happens to fall asleep in the open air on the festival, the Scythians say he cannot survive the year, and on this account they give him as much land as he can ride round on horseback in one day. The country being very extensive, Colaxais established three of the kingdoms for his sons, and made that one the largest in which the gold is kept. The parts beyond the north of the inhabited districts the Scythians say can neither be seen nor passed through, by reason of the feathers shed there; for the earth and air are so full of feathers that the view is intercepted. With respect to these feathers I entertain the following opinion: in the upper parts of this country it continually snows, less in summer than in winter, as is reasonable; now, whoever has seen snow falling thick near him, will know what I mean; for snow is like feathers; and on account of the winter being so severe, the northern parts of this continent are uninhabited.

Such is the account the Scythians give of themselves, and of the country above them; but the Greeks who inhabit Pontus give the following account: they say that Hercules, as he was driving away the herds of Geryon, arrived in this country,

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which was then a desert, and that Geryon, fixing his abode outside the Pontus, inhabited the island which the Greeks call Erythia, situated near Gades, beyond the columns of Hercules in the ocean. The ocean, they say, beginning from the sunrise, flows round the whole earth, that Hercules thence came to the country now called Scythia, and as a storm and frost overtook him, he drew his lion's skin over him, and went to sleep; and in the meanwhile, his mares, which were feeding apart from his chariot, vanished by some divine chance. They add that when Hercules awoke, he sought for them; and that having gone over the whole country, he at length came to the land called Hylæa; there he found a monster, having two natures, half virgin, half viper, of which the upper parts resembled a woman, and the lower parts a serpent; in astonishment he asked her if she anywhere had seen his stray mares. She said that she herself had them, and would not restore them to him unless he would make her his wife. Hercules agreed. She however, delayed giving back the mares, out of a desire to detain Hercules as long as she could; but as he was desirous of recovering them and departing, she at last restored the mares, saying: "These mares that strayed hither I preserved for you, but now that you will go away and leave me, tell me what I must do with our three sons when they are grown up; shall I establish them here, for I possess the rule over this country, or shall I send them to you?" He replied:

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"When you see the children arrived at the age of men, you cannot err if you do this: whichever of them you see able thus to bend this bow, and thus girding himself with this girdle, make him an inhabitant of this country; and whichever fails in these tasks which I enjoin, send out of the country. If you do this you will please yourself and do wisely." Then having drawn out one of his bows, for Hercules carried two at that time, and having shown her the belt, he gave her both the bow and the belt, which had a golden cup at the extremity of the clasp, and departed. When the sons had attained to the age of men she gave them names; to the first, Agathyrsis, to the second, Gelonus, and to the youngest, Scythes: and, in the next place, she did what had been enjoined; and two of her sons, Agathyrsis and Gelonus, being unable to come up to the proposed task, left the country, being expelled by their mother; but the youngest of them, Scythes, having accomplished it, remained there. From this Scythes, son of Hercules, are descended those who have been successively kings of the Scythians; and from the cup, the Scythians even to this day wear cups hung from their belts.

Aristeas, of Proconnesus, says in his epic verses, that, inspired by Apollo, he came to the Issedones; that beyond the Issedones dwell the Arimaspians, a people that have only one eye; beyond them the gold-guarding griffins; and beyond these the Hyperbore-

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ans, who reach to the sea: that all these, except the Hyperboreans, beginning from the Arimaspians, continually encroached upon their neighbors; that the Issedones were expelled from their country by the Arimaspians, the Scythians by the Issedones, and that the Cimmerians, who inhabited on the South Sea, being pressed by the Scythians, abandoned their country.

No one knows with certainty what is beyond the country about which this account speaks. But as far as we have been able to arrive at the truth with accuracy from hearsay, the whole shall be related. From the port of the Borysthenitæ, for this is the most central part of the sea-coast of all Scythia, the first people are the Callipidæ, being Greek-Scythians; beyond these is another nation called Alazones. These and the Callipidæ, in other respects, follow the usages of the Scythians, but they both sow and feed on wheat, onions, garlic, lentils, and millet; but beyond the Alazones dwell husbandmen, who do not sow wheat for food, but for sale. Beyond these the Neuri dwell; and to the north of the Neuri the country is utterly uninhabited, as far as I know. These nations are by the side of the river Hypanis, to the west of the Borysthenes. But if one crosses the Borysthenes, the first country from the sea is Hylæa; and from this higher up live Scythian agriculturists, where the Greeks settled on the river Hypanis. These Scythian husbandmen occupy the coun-

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try eastward, for three days' journey, extending to the river whose name is Panticapes; and northward a passage of eleven days up the Borysthenes. Beyond this region the country is a desert for a great distance; and beyond the desert Androphagi dwell, who are a distinct people, not in any respect Scythian. Beyond this is really desert, and no nation of men is found there, as far as we know. The country eastward of these Scythian agriculturists, when one crosses the river Panticapes, nomads occupy, who neither sow at all nor plough; and all this country is destitute of trees except Hylæa. The nomads occupy a tract eastward for fourteen days' journey, stretching to the river Gerrhus. Beyond the Gerrhus are the parts called the Royal, and the most valiant and numerous of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians to be their slaves. These extend southward to Taurica, and eastward to the trench which those sprung from the blind men dug, and to the port on the lake Mæotis, which is called Cremni, and some of them reach to the river Tanais. The parts above to the north of the Royal Scythians, the Melanchlæni inhabit, a distinct race, and not Scythian. But above the Melanchlæni are lakes, and an uninhabited desert, as far as we know.

After one crosses the river Tanais, it is no longer Scythian, but the first region belongs to the Sauromatæ, who beginning from the recess of the lake Mæotis, occupy the country northward, for a fifteen days'

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journey, all destitute both of wild and cultivated trees. Above these dwell the Budini, occupying the second region, and possessing a country thickly covered with all sorts of trees. Above the Budini, toward the north, there is first a desert of seven days' journey, and next to the desert, if one turns somewhat toward the east, dwell the Thyssagetæ, a numerous and distinct race, and they live by hunting. Contiguous to these, in the same regions, dwell those who are called Iyrcæ, who also live by hunting in the following manner: the huntsman, having climbed a tree, lies in ambush (and the whole country is thickly wooded), and each man has a horse ready taught to lie on his belly, that he may not be much above the ground, and a dog besides. When he sees any game from the tree, having let fly an arrow, he mounts his horse, and goes in pursuit, and the dog keeps close to him. Above these, as one bends toward the east, dwell other Scythians, who revolted from the Royal Scythians, and so came to this country. As far as the territory of these Scythians, the whole country that has been described is level and deep-soiled; but after this it is stony and rugged. When one has passed through a considerable extent of the rugged country, a people are found living at the foot of lofty mountains, who are said to be all bald from their birth, both men and women, and are flat-nosed, and have large chins; they speak a peculiar language, wear the Scythian costume, and live on

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the fruit of a tree; the name of the tree on which they live is called ponticon, and is about the size of a fig-tree; it bears fruit like a bean, and has a stone. When this is ripe they strain it through a cloth, and a thick and black liquor flows from it, to which they give the name of aschy; this they suck, and drink mingled with milk; from the thick sediment of the pulp they make cakes to eat, for they have not many cattle in these parts, as the pastures there are not good. Every man lives under a tree, which, in the winter, he covers with a thick white woollen covering. No man does any injury to this people, for they are accounted sacred; nor do they possess any warlike weapon. They determine by arbitration the differences that arise among their neighbors; and whoever takes refuge among them is injured by no one. They are called Argippæi.

As far, then, as these bald people, our knowledge respecting the country and the nations before them is very good, for some Scythians frequently go there from whom it is not difficult to obtain information, as well as some Greeks belonging to the ports in Pontus. The Scythians who go to them transact business by means of seven interpreters and seven languages, but beyond the bald men no one can speak with certainty, for lofty and impassable mountains form their boundary, which no one has ever crossed; but these bald men say, what to me is incredible that men with goats' feet inhabit these mountains; and when one has

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passed beyond them, other men are found, who sleep six months at a time, but this I do not at all admit. However, the country eastward of the bald men is well known, being inhabited by Issedones, who are said to observe this extraordinary custom. When a man's father dies, all his relations bring cattle, which they sacrifice, and, having cut up the flesh, they cut up also the dead parent of their host, and mingling all the flesh together, they spread out a banquet; then, making bare and cleansing his head, they gild it; and afterward treat it as a sacred image, performing grand annual sacrifices to it. A son does this to his father, as the Greeks celebrate the anniversary of their father's death. These people are likewise accounted just: and the women have equal authority with the men.

Above them, the Issedones affirm, are the men with only one eye, and the gold-guarding griffins. The Scythians repeat this account, having received it from them; and we have adopted it from the Scythians, and call them in the Scythian language, Arimaspi; for *Arima*, in the Scythian language, signifies one, and *Spou*, the eye. All this country which I have been speaking of is subject to such a severe winter that for eight months the frost is intolerable, so that if you pour water on the ground you will not make mud, but if you light a fire you will. Even the sea freezes, and the whole Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the Scythians who live within the trench lead

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their armies and drive their chariots over the ice to the Sindians, on the other side. Thus winter continues eight months, and even during the other four it is cold there. And this winter is different in character from the winters in all other countries; for in this no rain worth mentioning falls in the usual season, but during the summer it never leaves off raining. At the time when there is thunder elsewhere, there is none there, but in summer it is violent: if there should be thunder in winter, it is counted a prodigy to be wondered at. So, should there be an earthquake, whether in summer or winter, in Scythia it is accounted a prodigy. Their horses endure this cold, but asses and mules cannot endure it at all; whereas in other places in the world horses that stand exposed to frost become frost-bitten and waste away, but asses and mules endure it. On this account also the race of beeves appears to me to be defective there, and not to have horns; and the following verse of Homer, in his Odyssey, confirms my opinion: "And Libya, where the lambs soon put forth their horns," rightly observing that in warm climates horns shoot out quickly; but in very severe cold, the cattle do not produce them at all, or with difficulty. Concerning the Hyperboreans, I do not relate the story of Abaris, who was said to have carried an arrow round the whole earth without eating any thing. But I smile when I see many persons describing the circumference of the earth, who have no sound reason to guide them;

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they describe the ocean as flowing around the earth which is made circular as if by a lathe, and make Asia equal to Europe.

In length Europe extends along both Libya and Asia, but in respect to width, it is evidently much larger. Libya shows itself to be surrounded by water, except so much of it as borders upon Asia. Neco, King of Egypt, was the first whom we know of that proved this; when he had ceased digging the canal leading from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, he sent certain Phœnicians in ships, with orders to sail back through the pillars of Hercules into the Mediterranean Sea, and so return to Egypt. The Phœnicians, accordingly, setting out from the Red Sea, navigated the southern sea; when autumn came they went ashore and sowed the land by whatever part of Libya they happened to be sailing, and waited for harvest; then, having reaped the corn, they put to sea again. When two years had thus passed, in the third they doubled the pillars of Hercules, arrived in Egypt, and related what to me does not seem credible, but may to others, that, as they sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand.[1] Ever since that the Carthaginians say that Libya is surrounded by water.

A great part of Asia was explored under the direc-

[1] Herodotus means that south of the equator the sun was in the north.

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tion of Darius. Being desirous to know where the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, he sent in ships Scylax of Caryanda and others on whom he could rely to make a true report. They accordingly set out from the city of Caspatyrus, sailed down the river toward the sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westward, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phœnicians, whom I before mentioned, to sail round Libya. After this Darius subdued the Indians, and frequented this sea. Thus the other parts of Asia, except toward the rising sun, are found to exhibit things similar to Libya.

Whether Europe is surrounded by water either toward the east or toward the north, has not been fully discovered by any man; but in length it is known to extend beyond both the other continents. Nor can I conjecture for what reason three different names have been given to the earth, which is but one, and why those should be derived from the names of women. Libya is said by most of the Greeks to take its name from a native woman of the name of Libya; and Asia from the wife of Prometheus. But the Lydians claim this name, saying that Asia was so called after Asius, son of Cotys, son of Manes, and not after Asia, the wife of Prometheus; from whom also a tribe in Sardis is called the Asian tribe; nor is it clear whence Europe received its name, nor

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who gave it, unless we say that the region received the name from the Tyrian Europa: yet she evidently belonged to Asia, and never came into the country which is now called Europe by the Greeks.

The Euxine Sea exhibits the most ignorant nations: for we are unable to mention any one nation of those on this side the Pontus that has any pretensions to intelligence; nor have we ever heard of any learned man among them, except the Scythian nation and Anacharsis. By the Scythian nation one of the most important of human devices has been contrived more wisely than by any others whom we know; their other customs, however, I do not admire. This device has been contrived so that no one who attacks them can escape; and that if they do not choose to be found, no one is able to overtake them. For they have neither cities nor fortifications, but carry their houses with them; they are all equestrian archers, living not from the cultivation of the earth, but from cattle, and their dwellings are wagons, — how must not such a people be invincible, and difficult to engage with? The country and the rivers aid them: for the country being level, abounds in herbage and is well watered; and rivers flow through it almost as numerous as the canals in Egypt. The Ister, which is the greatest of all the rivers we know, flows always with an equal stream both in summer and winter, and has five mouths.

In each district of the Scythians, in the place where

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the magistrates assemble, is erected a structure sacred to Mars, of the following kind. Bundles of fagots are heaped up to the length and breadth of three stades, but less in height; on the top of this a square platform is formed; and three of the sides are perpendicular, but on the fourth it is accessible. Every year they heap on it one hundred and fifty wagon-loads of fagots, for it is continually sinking by reason of the weather. On this heap an old iron scimetar is placed by each tribe, and this is the image of Mars; they bring yearly sacrifices of cattle and horses; and to these *scimetars* they offer more sacrifices than to the rest of the gods. Whatever enemies they take alive, of these they sacrifice one in a hundred, not in the same manner as they do the cattle, but in a different manner; for after they have poured a libation of wine on their heads, they cut the throats of the men over a bowl; then having carried *the bowl* on the heap of fagots, they pour the blood over the scimetar. Below at the sacred precinct, they do as follows: having cut off all the right shoulders of the men that have been killed, with the arms, they throw them into the air; and then, having finished the rest of the sacrificial rites, they depart; but the arm lies wherever it has fallen, and the body apart. Swine they never use, nor suffer them to be used in their country at all.

When a Scythian overthrows his first enemy, he drinks his blood; and presents the king with the

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heads of the enemies he has killed in battle; for if he brings a head, he shares the booty that they take; but not if he does not bring one. He skins it in the following manner. Having made a circular incision round the ears and taking hold of the skin, he shakes it from the skull; then, having scraped off the flesh with the rib of an ox, he softens the skin with his hands, makes it supple, and uses it as a napkin; each man hangs it on the bridle of the horse which he rides, and prides himself on it; for whoever has the greatest number of these skin napkins is accounted the most valiant man. Many of them make cloaks of these skins, to throw over themselves, sewing them together like shepherd's coats; and many, having flayed the right hands of their enemies that are dead, together with the nails, make coverings for their quivers; the skin of a man, which is both thick and shining, surpasses almost all other skins in the brightness of its white. Many, having flayed men whole, and stretched the skin on wood, carry it about on horseback. The heads themselves, not indeed of all, but of their greatest enemies, they treat as follows: each, having sawn off all below the eyebrows, cleanses it, and if the man is poor, he covers only the outside with leather and so uses it; but if he is rich he covers it with leather, and gilds the inside, and so uses it for a drinking-cup. They do this also to their relatives, if they are at variance, and one prevails over another in the presence of the king. When strangers of con-

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sideration come to him, he produces these heads, and relates how, though they were his relatives, they made war against him, and he overcame them, considering this a proof of bravery. Once in every year the governor of a district, each in his own district, mingles a bowl of wine, from which those Scythians drink by whom enemies have been captured; but they who have not achieved this do not taste of this wine, but sit at a distance in dishonor; this is accounted the greatest disgrace: such of them as have killed very many men, having two cups at once, drink them together.

Soothsayers among the Scythians are numerous, who divine by the help of a number of willow rods in the following manner. They lay large bundles of twigs on the ground and untie them; and having placed each rod apart, they utter their predictions; and whilst they are pronouncing them, they gather up the rods again, and put them together again, one by one. This is their national mode of divination. But the Enarees, or Androgyni, say that Venus gave them the power of divining by means of the bark of a linden tree: when a man has split the linden-tree in three pieces, twisting it round his own fingers, and then untwisting it, he utters a response.

When the king of the Scythians is sick, he sends for three of the most famous of the prophets, who prophesy in the manner above mentioned. When any of these prophets are proved to have sworn falsely,

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they put them to death in the following manner; they fill a wagon with fagots and yoke oxen to it, then tie the feet of the prophets, bind their hands behind them, gag them, and enclose them in the midst of the fagots; then having set fire to them, they terrify the oxen, and let them go. Many oxen are burnt with the prophets, and many escape very much scorched when the pole has been burnt asunder. Of the children of those whom he puts to death, the king kills all the males, but does not hurt the females.

The sepulchres of the kings are in the country of the Gerrhi. There, when their king dies, they dig a large square hole in the ground to receive the corpse. Then, having the body covered with wax, the belly opened and cleaned, filled with bruised cypress, incense, parsley, and anise-seed, and sewn up again, they carry it in a chariot to another nation; those who receive the corpse brought to them do the same as the Royal Scythians; they cut off part of their ear, shave off their hair, wound themselves on the arms, lacerate their forehead and nose, and drive arrows through their left hand. Thence they carry the corpse of the king to another nation whom they govern; and those to whom they first came accompany them. When they have carried the corpse round all the provinces, they arrive at the sepulchres among the Gerrhi, who are the most remote of the nations they rule over. Then, when they have placed the corpse in the grave on a bed of leaves, having fixed spears

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on each side of the dead body, they lay pieces of wood over it, and cover it over with mats. In the remaining space of the grave they bury one of the king's wives, having strangled her, and his cup-bearer, a cook, a groom, a page, a courier, and horses, and first-lings of every thing else, and golden goblets; they make no use of silver or bronze. Then they all heap up a large mound, vieing with each other to make it as large as possible. At the expiration of a year, they take the most fitting of his remaining servants, all native Scythians; for whomsoever the king may order serve him, and they have no servants bought with money. Now, when they have strangled fifty of these servants, and fifty of the finest horses, they take out their bowels, cleanse them, fill them with chaff, and sew them up again. Then placing the half of a wheel, with its concave side uppermost, on two pieces of wood, and the other half on two other pieces of wood, and, preparing many of these in the same manner, they thrust thick pieces of wood through the horses lengthwise, up to the neck, mount them on the half-wheels; the foremost part of the half-wheels supporting the shoulders of the horses, and the hinder part the belly near the thighs, while the legs on both side are suspended in the air; then, having put bridles and bits on the horses, they stretch them in front and fasten them to a stake; they then mount upon each horse one of the fifty young men that have been strangled. They drive a straight piece of wood along

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the spine as far as the neck, and a part of this wood which projects from the bottom they fix into a hole bored in the other piece of wood that passes through the horse. The horsemen are then placed round the monument, and they depart.

When the other Scythians die, their nearest relations carry them about among their friends, laid in chariots; each one receives and entertains the attendants, and sets the same things before the dead body, as before the rest. In this manner private persons are carried about for forty days, and then buried. After the burial the Scythians purify themselves by wiping and thoroughly washing their heads and bodies. They set up three pieces of wood leaning against each other, extend around them woollen cloths; and having joined them together as closely as possible, they throw red-hot stones into a vessel placed in the middle of the pieces of wood and the cloths. They have a sort of hemp growing in this country, much like flax, except in thickness and height; in this respect the hemp is far superior: it grows both spontaneously and from cultivation; and from it the Thracians make garments like linen, nor would any one who is not well skilled in such matters distinguish whether they are made of flax or hemp, but a person who has never seen this hemp would think the garment was made of flax. The Scythians take seed of this hemp, creep under the cloths, and put the seed on the red-hot stones; this smokes, and produces

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such a steam as no Grecian vapor-bath could surpass. Transported with vapor, they shout aloud; and this serves them instead of washing, for they never bathe the body in water. Their women pound on a rough stone pieces of cypress, cedar, and incense-tree, pouring on water; and then this pounded matter, when it is thick, they smear over the whole body and face. This at the same time gives them an agreeable odor, and when they take off the cataplasm on the following day, they become clean and shining.

I have never been able to learn with accuracy the amount of the population of the Scythians. There is a spot between the river Borysthenes and the Hypanis, called Exampæus, containing a fountain of bitter water, which renders the Hypanis unfit to be drunk. In this spot lies a bronze cauldron, in size six times as large as the bowl at the mouth of the Pontus, which Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, dedicated. For the benefit of any one who has never seen this, I will describe it: The cauldron easily contains six hundred amphoræ; and is six fingers in thickness. The inhabitants say that it was made from the points of arrows: for their king, Ariantas, wishing to know the population of the Scythians, commanded the Scythians to bring him each one point of an arrow, and threatened death on whosoever should fail to bring it. Accordingly, a vast number of arrow points were brought, and resolving to leave a monument made from them, he made this bronze bowl, and dedicated

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it at Exampæus. Their country has nothing wonderful, except the rivers, which are very large and very many in number, and the extensive plains. They show the print of the foot of Hercules upon a rock near the river Tyras; it resembles the footstep of man, and is two cubits in length.

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CHAPTER XIX.

INVASION OF SCYTHIA BY DARIUS.

WHILST Darius was making preparations against the Scythians, and sending messages to command some to contribute land forces, and others a fleet, and others to bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus, Artabanus, the son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, entreated him on no account to make an expedition against the Scythians, representing the poverty of Scythia; but he could not persuade him. At that time Œobazus, a Persian, who had three sons all serving in the army, besought Darius that one might be left at home for him. The king answered him, as a friend, and one who had made a moderate request, that he would leave him all his sons; he therefore was exceedingly delighted, hoping that his sons would be discharged from the army. But at Darius' command the proper officers put all the sons of Œobazus to death, and left them on the spot.

When Darius, marching from Susa, reached Chalcedon on the Bosphorus, a bridge was already laid

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across. There, sitting in the temple, he took a view of the Euxine Sea, which is worthy of admiration, for of all seas it is by nature the most wonderful.

Darius, pleased with the bridge, presented its architect, Mandrocles the Samian, with ten of every thing, and he painted a picture of the whole junction of the Bosphorus, with King Darius seated on a throne, and his army crossing over, and dedicated it as first fruits in the temple of Juno.

When Darius reached the river Tearus he was so delighted with it that he erected a pillar with this inscription: THE SPRINGS OF THE TEARUS YIELD THE BEST AND FINEST WATER OF ALL RIVERS; AND A MAN, THE BEST AND FINEST OF ALL MEN, CAME TO THEM, LEADING AN ARMY AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS, DARIUS SON OF HYSTASPES, KING OF THE PERSIANS, AND OF THE WHOLE CONTINENT.

Before he reached the Ister, he subdued the Getæ, who think themselves immortal, supposing that they themselves do not die, but that the deceased go to the deity Zalmoxis. Every fifth year they despatch one of themselves, taken by lot, to Zalmoxis, with orders to let him know on each occasion what they want. Their mode of sending him is this. Some who are appointed hold three javelins: whilst others take up the man who is to be sent to Zalmoxis by the hands and feet, swing him round, and throw him into the air, upon the points. If he is transfixed and dies, they think the god is propitious to them; if he does

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not die, they blame the messenger himself, saying that he is a bad man, and despatch another.

When Darius and his land forces reached the Ister, and all had crossed, Coes, general of the Mitylenians, advised the king to let the bridge remain over it, leaving the men who constructed it as its guard. "Not," said he, "that I am at all afraid that we shall be conquered in battle by the Scythians, but rather that, being unable to find them, we may suffer somewhat in our wanderings." "Lesbian, friend," replied Darius, "when I am safe back in my own palace, fail not to present yourself to me, that I may requite you for good advice with good deeds." Tying sixty knots in a thong, he summoned the Ionian commanders to his presence, and said; "Men of Ionia, I have changed my resolution concerning the bridge; so take this thong, and as soon as you see me march against the Scythians, untie one of these knots every day; and if I return not until the days numbered by the knots have passed, sail away to your own country. Till that time, since I have changed my determination, guard the bridge, and apply the utmost care to preserve and secure it."

The Scythians determined to fight no battle in the open field, because their allies did not come to their assistance; but to retreat and draw off covertly, and fill up the wells and the springs as they passed by, and destroy the herbage on the ground. They sent forward the best of their cavalry as an advanced

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guard; but the wagons, in which all their children and wives lived, they left behind.

Advancing with his army as quick as possible, he fell in with the Scythian divisions and pursued them, but they kept a day's march before him. The Scythians, for Darius did not relax his pursuit, fled, as had been determined, toward those nations that had refused to assist them. When this had continued for a considerable time, Darius sent a horseman to Indathyrsus, king of the Scythians, with the following message: "Most miserable of men, why dost thou continually fly, when it is in thy power to do one of these two other things? For if thou thinkest thou art able to resist my power, stand, and having ceased thy wanderings, fight; but if thou art conscious of thy inferiority, in that case also cease thy hurried march, and, bringing earth and water as presents to thy master, come to a conference." To this Indathyrsus, the king of the Scythians, answered: "This is the case with me, O Persian; I never yet fled from any man out of fear, nor do I now so flee from thee; nor have I done any thing different now from what I am wont to do, even in time of peace; but why I do not forthwith fight thee, I will explain. We have no cities nor cultivated lands, for which we are under any apprehension lest they should be taken or ravaged. Yet, if it is by all means necessary to come to battle at once, we have the sepulchres of our ancestors, come, find these, and attempt to disturb

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them, then you will know whether we will fight for our sepulchres or not; but before that, unless we choose, we will not engage with thee. The only masters I acknowledge are Jupiter, my progenitor, and Vesta, queen of the Scythians; but to thee, instead of presents of earth and water, I will send such presents as are proper to come to thee. And in answer to thy boast, that thou art my master, I bid thee weep." (This is a Scythian saying.) The herald therefore departed, carrying this answer to Darius.

When the kings of the Scythians heard the name of servitude, they were filled with indignation; whereupon they sent the division united with the Sauromatæ, which Scopasis commanded, with orders to confer with the Ionians, who guarded the bridge over the Ister. Those who were left resolved no longer to lead the Persians about, but to attack them whenever they were taking their meals; accordingly, observing the soldiers of Darius taking their meals, they put their design in execution. The Scythian cavalry always routed the Persian cavalry, but the Persian horsemen in their flight fell back on the infantry, and the infantry supported them. The Scythians, having beaten back the cavalry, wheeled around through fear of the infantry. A very remarkable circumstance, that was advantageous to the Persians and adverse to the Scythians, when they attacked the camp of Darius, was the braying of the asses and the

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appearance of the mules, for Scythia produces neither ass nor mule; there is not in the whole Scythian territory a single ass or mule, by reason of cold. The asses, then, growing playful, put the Scythian horses into confusion; and frequently, as they were advancing upon the Persians, when the horses heard, midway, the braying of the asses, they wheeled round in confusion, and were greatly amazed, pricking up their ears, as having never before heard such a sound, nor seen such a shape; and this circumstance in some slight degree affected the fortune of the war.

When the Scythians saw the Persians in great commotion, to detain them longer in Scythia they left some of their own cattle in the care of the herdsmen and withdrew to another spot; and the Persians coming up, took the cattle and exulted in what they had done. When this had happened several times, Darius at last was in a great strait, and the kings of the Scythians, having ascertained this, sent a herald, bearing as gifts to Darius, a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bearer of the gifts the meaning of this present; but he answered that he had no other orders than to deliver them and return immediately; and he advised the Persians, if they were wise, to discover what the gifts meant. Darius' opinion was that the Scythians meant to give themselves up to him, as well as earth and water; forming his conjecture thus: since a mouse is bred in the earth, and subsists on the same food as man;

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a frog lives in the water; a bird is very like a horse; and the arrows they deliver up as their whole strength. But Gobryas, one of the seven who had deposed the magus, did not coincide with this; he conjectured that the presents intimated: "Unless, O Persians, ye become birds and fly into the air, or become mice and hide yourselves beneath the earth, or become frogs and leap into the lakes, ye shall never return home again, but be stricken by these arrows." And thus the other Persians interpreted the gifts.

The rest of the Scythians, after they had sent the presents to Darius, drew themselves up opposite the Persians with their foot and horse, as if they intended to come to an engagement; and as the Scythians were standing in their ranks, a hare started in the midst of them, and each went in pursuit of it. The Scythians being in great confusion, and shouting loudly, Darius asked the meaning of the uproar in the enemy's ranks; but when he heard that they were pursuing a hare, he said to those he was accustomed to address on such occasions: "These men treat us with great contempt; and I am convinced that Gobryas spoke rightly concerning the Scythian presents. I feel that we have need of the best advice, how our return home may be effected in safety." To this Gobryas answered: "O king, I was in some measure acquainted by report with these men; but I have learned much more since I came hither, and seen how they make sport of us. My

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opinion is, that as soon as night draws on we should light fires, as we are accustomed to do, and having deceived and left behind those soldiers who are least able to bear hardships, and having tethered all the asses, should depart before the Scythians direct their march to the Ister, for the purpose of destroying the bridge, or the Ionians take any resolution which may occasion our ruin." Darius acted on this opinion: the infirm amongst the soldiers, and those whose loss would be of the least consequence, he left on the spot in the camp. And he left the asses that they might make a noise; and the men were left on this pretext, that he with the strength of his army was about to attack the Scythians, and they, during that time, would defend the camp. So Darius laid these injunctions on those he was preparing to abandon, caused the fires to be lighted, and marched away with all speed toward the Ister. The asses, deserted by the multitude, began to bray much louder than usual; so that the Scythians, hearing them, supposed of course that the Persians were still at their station. When day appeared, the men that were abandoned, discovering that they had been betrayed by Darius, extended their hands to the Scythians, and told them what had occurred; when they heard this the divisions of the Scythians joined forces as quickly as possible and pursued the Persians straight toward the Ister. But as a great part of the Persian army consisted of infantry, and they did not

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know the way, there being no roads cut, and as the Scythian army consisted of cavalry, and knew the shortest route, they missed each other, and the Scythians arrived at the bridge much before the Persians. Finding that the Persians were not yet arrived, they spoke to the Ionians who were on board the ships, in these terms: "Men of Ionia, the number of days appointed for your stay is already passed, and you do not as you ought in continuing here; but if you remained before through fear, now break up the passage and depart as quickly as possible, rejoicing that you are free, and give thanks to the gods and the Scythians. As for the man who before was your master, we will so deal with him that he shall never hereafter make war on any people."

Upon this the Ionians held a consultation. The opinion of Miltiades, the Athenian, who commanded and reigned over the Chersonesites on the Hellespont, was, that they should comply with the request of the Scythians, and restore liberty to Ionia. But Histiæus the Milesian was of a contrary opinion, and said, "that every one reigned over his own city through Darius; and if Darius' power should be destroyed, neither would he himself continue master of Miletus, nor any of the rest of other places; because every one of the cities would choose to be governed rather by a democracy than a tyranny. Histiæus had no sooner delivered this opinion, than all went over to his side, who had before assented

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to that of Miltiades. Approving of the opinion of Histiæus, they determined to add to it the following acts and words. To break up the bridge on the Scythian side, as far as a bow-shot might reach, that they might seem to do something, when in effect they did nothing; and that the Scythians might not attempt to use violence and purpose to cross the Ister by the bridge; and to say, while they were breaking up the bridge on the Scythian side, they would do every thing that might be agreeable to the Scythians. And Histiæus delivered the answer in the name of all, saying as follows: "Men of Scythia, you have brought us good advice, and urge it seasonably; you, on your part, have pointed out the right way to us, and we on ours readily submit to you; for, as you see, we are breaking up the passage, and will use all diligence, desiring to be free. But while we are breaking it up, it is fitting you should seek for them, and having found them, avenge us and yourselves on them, as they deserve." The Scythians, believing a second time that the Ionians were sincere, turned back to seek the Persians; but entirely missed the way they had taken. The Scythians themselves were the cause of this, as they had destroyed the pastures for the horses in this direction, and filled in the wells; for if they had not done this, they might easily have found the Persians; but now they erred in the very thing which they thought they had contrived for the best. For the Scythians sought the

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enemy by traversing those parts of the country where there was forage and water for the horses, thinking that they too would make their retreat by that way. But the Persians, carefully observing their former track, returned by it, and thus with difficulty found the passage. As they arrived in the night, and perceived the bridge broken off, they fell into the utmost consternation, lest the Ionians had abandoned them. There was with Darius an Egyptian, who had an exceedingly loud voice. This man Darius commanded to stand on the bank of the Ister, and called Histiæus, the Milesian. He did so, and Histiæus, having heard the first shout, brought up all the ships to carry the army across, and joined the bridge. Thus the Persians escaped.

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CHAPTER XX.

DESCRIPTION OF LIBYA.

BEGINNING from Egypt, the Adrymachidæ are the first of the Libyans we meet with: they for the most part observe the usages of Egypt, but they wear the same dress as the other Libyans. The women wear a chain of bronze on each leg, and allow their hair to grow long. Next to these are the Giligammæ, who occupy the country westward, as far as the island Aphrodisias. Midway on this coast the island of Platea is situated, which the Cyrenæans colonized. The Asbystæ adjoin the Giligammæ westward: they inhabit the country above Cyrene, but do not reach to the sea; for the Cyrenæans occupy the sea-coast. They drive four-horsed chariots, more than any of the Libyans, and endeavor to imitate most of the customs of the Cyrenæans. The Nasamones, a very numerous people, live to the westward. In summer they leave their cattle on the coast, and go up to the region of Augila, in order to gather the fruit of the palm-trees, which grow in great numbers to a large size, and are all productive. They catch locusts, dry

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them in the sun, reduce them to powder, and, sprinkling them in milk, drink them. In their oaths and divinations they swear, laying their hands on the sepulchres of those who are generally esteemed to have been the most just and excellent persons among them; and they divine, going to the tombs of their ancestors, and, after having prayed, they lie down to sleep, and whatever dream they have, they avail themselves of. In pledging their faith, each party gives the other to drink out of his hand, and drinks in turn from the other's hand; and if they have no liquid, they take up some dust from the ground and lick it.

Above these to the north, in a country abounding with wild beasts, live the Garamantes, who avoid all men and the society of any others; they do not possess any warlike weapon, nor do they know how to defend themselves. The Macæ adjoin them on the sea-coast, westward; these shave their heads so as to leave a tuft, and allowing the middle hair to grow, keep both sides shaved close to the skin; in war they wear the skins of ostriches for defensive armor. The river Cinyps, flowing through their country from a hill called the Graces, discharges itself into the sea. This hill of the Graces is thickly covered with trees, though all the rest of Libya is bare. From the sea to this hill is a distance of two hundred stades. The Lotophagi occupy the coast that projects to the sea in front; they subsist only on the fruit of the lotus, which is equal in size to the mastic berry, and in

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sweetness resembles the fruit of the palm-tree. The Lotophagi make wine also from this fruit.

The Machlyes, who also use the lotus, but in a less degree than those before mentioned, adjoin the Lotophagi on the sea-coast. They extend as far as a large river called Triton, which discharges itself into the great lake Tritonis; and in it is an island named Phla. They say that the Lacedæmonians were commanded by an oracle to colonize this island. The following story is also told: that Jason, when the building of the Argo was finished at the foot of Mount Pelion, having put a hecatomb on board, and a bronze tripod, sailed round the Peloponnesus, purposing to go to Delphi; and as he was sailing off Malea, a north wind caught him and drove him to Libya; and before he could discern the land, he found himself in the shallows of the lake Tritonis; and as he was in doubt how to extricate his ship, the story goes that a Triton appeared to him, and bade Jason give him the tripod, promising that he would show them the passage, and conduct them away in safety. Jason consented, and the Triton showed them the passage out of the shallows, and placed the tripod in his own temple; then pronouncing an oracle from the tripod, he declared to Jason and his companions all that should happen,—that "when one of the descendants of those who sailed with him in the Argo should carry away the tripod, then it was fated that a hundred Grecian cities should be built about the

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lake Tritonis." The neighboring nations of the Libyans, when they heard this, concealed the tripods.

The Auses adjoin these Machlyes; they, as well as the Machlyes dwell round the lake Tritonis, and the Triton forms the boundary between them. The Machlyes let the hair grow on the back of the head, and the Auses on the front. At the annual festival of Minerva, their virgins, dividing themselves into two companies, fight together with stones and staves, affirming that they perform the ancient rites to their native goddess, whom we call Minerva; and those of the virgins who die from their wounds they call false virgins. But before they leave off fighting, they, with one consent, deck the maiden that excels in beauty, with a Corinthian helmet, and a suit of Grecian armor, and, placing her in a chariot, conduct her round the lake. In what way they formerly decorated the maidens before the Greeks settled in their neighborhood, I am unable to say; but I conjecture that they were decked in Egyptian armor, for I am of opinion that the shield and helmet were brought from Egypt into Greece.

Above these nomadic tribes, inland, Libya abounds in wild beasts; beyond the wild-beast tract is a ridge of sand, stretching from the Egyptian Thebes to the columns of Hercules. At intervals of a ten days' journey in this ridge, there are pieces of salt in large lumps on hills; and at the top of each hill, from the midst of the salt, cool, sweet water gushes up. The

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first people you come to after a ten days' journey from Thebes are the Ammonians, who have a temple resembling that of Theban Jupiter. For the image of Jupiter at Thebes has the head of a ram. They have also another kind of spring water which in the morning is tepid, becomes colder about the time of full forum, and at midday is very cold; at that time they water their gardens. As the day declines, it generally loses its coldness, till the sun sets, then the water becomes tepid again, and continuing to increase in heat till midnight, it then boils and bubbles up; when midnight is passed, it gets cooler until morning. This fountain is called after the sun. Next to the Ammonians, along the ridge of sand, at the end of another ten days' journey, there is a hill of salt, like that of the Ammonians, and water, and men live round it; the name of this region is Augila; and thither the Nasamonians go to gather dates. From the Augilæ, at the end of another ten days' journey, is another hill of salt and water, and many fruit-bearing palm-trees, as also in other places; and men inhabit it who are called Garamantes, a very powerful nation; they lay earth upon the salt, and then sow their ground. From these to the Lotophagi the shortest route is a journey of thirty days; amongst them cattle that feed backwards are met with, having horns that are so bent forward that they are unable to feed forwards, because their horns would stick in the ground. They differ from other kine in no other

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respect, except that their hide is thicker and harder. These Garamantes hunt the Ethiopian Troglodytes in four-horse chariots; these Ethiopian Troglodytes are the swiftest of foot of all men of whom we have heard any account given. The Troglodytes feed upon serpents and lizards, and such kinds of reptiles; they speak a language like no other, but screech like bats.

At the distance of another ten days' journey from the Garamantes is another hill of salt and water, around which a people live who are called Atarantes; they are the only race we know of who have not personal names. For the name Atarantes belongs to them collectively, and to each one of them no name is given. They curse the sun as he passes over their heads, and moreover utter against him the foulest invectives, because he consumes by his scorching heat the men themselves and their country. Afterward, at the end of still another ten days' journey, there is one more hill of salt and water, and men live round it, near a mountain called Atlas; it is narrow and circular on all sides, and is said to be so lofty that its top can never be seen; it is never free from clouds either in summer or winter. The inhabitants say that it is the Pillar of Heaven. From this mountain the men derive their appellation, for they are called Atlantes. They are said neither to eat the flesh of any animal, nor to see visions. As far, then, as these Atlantes, I am able to mention the names of

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the nations that inhabit this ridge, but not beyond them. This ridge, however, extends as far as the pillars of Hercules, and even beyond; and there is a mine of salt in it at intervals of ten days' journey, and men dwelling there. The houses of them all are built of blocks of salt, for in these parts of Libya no rain falls; walls being of salt could not of course stand long if rain did fall. The salt dug out there is white and purple in appearance. Above this ridge, to the south and interior of Libya, the country is a desert, without water, without animals, without rain, and without wood; and there is no kind of moisture in it.

Westward of lake Tritonis, the Libyans are no longer nomads, nor do they follow the same customs with respect to their children as the nomads are accustomed to do; for the nomadic Libyans, whether all I am unable to say with certainty, but many of them, when their children are four years old, burn the veins on the crown of their heads with uncleaned sheep's wool; and some of them do so on the veins in the temples, to the end that humors flowing down from the head may not injure them as long as they live; and, for this reason, they say they are so very healthy, for the Libyans are, in truth, the most healthy of all men with whom we are acquainted. But I simply repeat what the Libyans themselves say. From the Libyan women the Greeks derived the attire and ægis of Minerva's statues; for, except

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that the dress of the Libyan women is leather, and the fringes that hang from the ægis are not serpents, but made of thongs, they are otherwise equipped in the same way; and, moreover, the very name proves that the garb of the Palladia comes from Libya; for the Libyan women throw over their dress, goats' skins without the hair, fringed and dyed with red. From these goats' skins the Greeks have borrowed the name of Ægis. And the howlings in the temples were, I think, first derived from there; for the Libyan women practise the same custom and do it well. The Greeks also learnt from the Libyans to yoke four horses abreast. All the nomads, except the Nasamonians, inter their dead in the same manner as the Greeks; these bury them in a sitting posture, watching, when one is about to expire, that they may set him up, and he may not die supine. Their dwellings are compacted of the asphodel shrub, interwoven with rushes, and are portable.

To the west of the river Triton, Libyans who are husbandmen next adjoin the Auses; they are accustomed to live in houses, and are called Maxyes. They let the hair grow on the right side of the head, and shave the left; and bedaub the body with vermilion: they say that they are descended from men who came from Troy. This region, and all the rest of Libya westward, is much more infested by wild beasts and more thickly wooded than the country of the nomads: for the eastern country of Libya, which the

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nomads inhabit, is low and sandy, as far as the river Triton; but the country westward of this, which is occupied by agriculturists, is very mountainous, woody, and abounds with wild beasts. For amongst them there are enormous serpents, and lions, elephants, bears, asps, asses with horns, and monsters with dogs' heads and without heads, who have eyes in their breasts, at least as the Libyans say, together with wild men and wild women. None of these things are found among the nomads, but others of the following kind: pygargi, antelopes, buffaloes, and asses, not such as have horns, but others that never drink; and oryes, from the horns of which are made the elbows of the Phœnician citherns; in size this beast is equal to an ox; and foxes, hyænas, porcupines, wild rams, dictyes, thoes, panthers, boryes, and land crocodiles about three cubits long, very much like lizards; ostriches, and small serpents, each with one horn. These, then, are the wild animals in that country, besides such as are met with elsewhere, except the stag and the wild boar; but the stag and the wild boar are never seen in Libya. They have three sorts of mice there; some called dipodes, or two-footed: others, zegeries; this name is Libyan, and means the same as the word signifying hillocks in Greek; and hedgehogs. There are also weasels produced in the silphium, like those at Tartessus.

The Zaveces adjoin the Maxyan Libyans; their women drive their chariots in war. The Gyzantes

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adjoin them: amongst them bees make a great quantity of honey, and it is said that confectioners make much more. All these paint themselves with vermilion, and eat monkeys, which abound in their mountains. Near them, the Carthaginians say, lies an island called Cyraunis, two hundred stades in length, inconsiderable in breadth, easy of access from the continent, and abounding in olive trees and vines. In it is a lake, from the mud of which the girls of the country draw up gold dust by means of feathers daubed with pitch. Whether this is true I know not, but I write what is related: it may be so, however, for I have myself seen pitch drawn up out of a lake and from water in Zacynthus; and there are several lakes there, the largest of them is seventy feet every way, and two orgyæ in depth; into this they let down a pole with a myrtle branch fastened to the end, and then draw up pitch adhering to the myrtle; it has the smell of asphalt, but is in other respects better than the pitch of Pieria. They pour it into a cistern dug near the lake, and when they have collected a sufficient quantity, draw it off from the cistern into jars. All that falls into the lake passes under ground, and appears again upon the surface of the sea, which is about four stades distant from the lake. This account given of the island may probably be true. The Carthaginians further say, that beyond the pillars of Hercules there is an inhabited region of Libya; when they arrive among these people and have unloaded

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their merchandise, they set it in order on the shore, go on board their ships, and make a great smoke; the inhabitants, seeing the smoke, come down to the sea, deposit gold in exchange for the merchandise, and withdraw to some distance from the merchandise; the Carthaginians then, going ashore, examine the gold, and if the quantity seems sufficient for the merchandise they take it up and sail away; but if it is not sufficient, they go on board their ships again and wait; the natives then approach and deposit more gold, until they have satisfied them; neither party ever wrongs the other; for they do not touch the gold before it is made adequate to the value of the merchandise, nor do the natives touch the merchandise before the other party has taken the gold.

OLIVE TREES.

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No part of Libya appears to me so good in fertility as to be compared with Asia or Europe, except only the district of Cinyps; for the land bears the same name as the river, and is equal to the best land for the production of corn; nor is it at all like the rest of Libya; for the soil is black, and well watered with springs, and it is neither affected at all by drought, nor is it injured by imbibing too much rain, which falls in this part of Libya. The proportion of the produce of this land equals that of Babylon. The land also which the Euesperides occupy is good; for when it yields its best, it produces a hundred fold; but that in Cinyps three hundred fold. The district of Cyrene, which is the highest of that part of Libya which the nomads occupy, has three seasons, a circumstance worthy of admiration; for the first fruits near the sea swell so as to be ready for the harvest and vintage; when these are gathered in, the fruits of the middle region, away from the sea, swell so as to be gathered in, these they call uplands; and just as this middle harvest has been gathered in, that in the highest part becomes ripe and swells. So that when the first crop has been drunk and eaten, the last comes in. Thus harvest occupies the Cyrenæans during eight months. This may be sufficient to say concerning these things.

The Persians once upon a time sent against the city of Barce, laid siege to it for nine months, digging passages under ground that reached to the walls,

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and making vigorous assaults. Now these excavations were discovered by a worker of bronze, carrying a bronze shield round within the wall, and applying it to the ground within the city: in other places to which he applied it, it made no noise, but at the parts that were excavated, the metal of the shield sounded. The Barcæans, therefore, countermining them in that part, slew the Persians who were employed in the excavation. When much time had been spent, and many had fallen on both sides, and not the fewest on the side of the Persians, Amasis, general of the land forces, had recourse to the following stratagem: Finding that the Barcæans could not be taken by force, but might be by artifice, he dug a wide pit by night, laid weak planks of wood over it, and on the surface over the planks he spread a heap of earth, making it level with the rest of the ground. At daybreak he invited the Barcæans to a conference; they gladly assented, thinking that at last they were pleased to come to terms: and they made an agreement of the following nature, concluding the treaty over the concealed pit: "That as long as this earth shall remain as it is, the treaty should continue in force; and that the Barcæans should pay a reasonable tribute to the king, and that the Persians should form no new designs against the Barcæans." After the treaty the Barcæans, confiding in the Persians, went freely out of the city, and allowed any one of the Persians who chose to pass within the

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wall, throwing open all the gates. But the Persians, having broken down the concealed bridge, rushed within the wall: having not fully kept their oath. The Persians reduced the Barcæans to slavery and took their departure. But king Darius gave them a village in the district of Bactria, to dwell in, and the name of Barce was given to this village, which was still inhabited in my time, in the Bactrian territory.

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TERPSICHORE.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONQUESTS OF THE GENERALS OF DARIUS.

THE Persians, left in Europe by Darius under the command of Megabazus, subdued the Perinthians first of the Hellespontines, who were unwilling to submit to Darius, and had been before roughly handled by the Pæonians. For an oracle had admonished the Pæonians to invade the Perinthians, and if the Perinthians, when encamped against them, should challenge them, shouting to them by name, then to attack, but if they should not shout out to them, not to attack. A threefold single combat took place between them according to a challenge; for they matched a man with a man, a horse with a horse, and a dog with a dog. The Perinthians, victorious in two of these combats, through excess of joy sang the Pæon, whereupon the Pæonians conjectured that this was the meaning of the oracle, and said among themselves: "Now surely the oracle must be ac-

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complished; now it is our part to act." The Pæonians attacked the Perinthians as they were singing the Pæon, gained a complete victory, and left but few of them alive.

The nation of the Thracians is the greatest of all among men, except the Indians; and if they were governed by one man, or acted in concert, they would, in my opinion, be invincible, and by far the most powerful of all nations. But as this is impracticable, and it is impossible that they should ever be united, they are weak.

Beyond the Ister appears to be an interminable desert, and the only men that I am able to hear of as dwelling there are those called Sigynnæ, who wear the Medic dress; their horses are shaggy all over the body, to five fingers in depth of hair; they are small, flat-nosed, and unable to carry men; but when yoked to chariots are very fleet. They say that these people are a colony of Medes. How they can have been a colony of Medes I cannot comprehend; but anything may happen in the course of time.

There is a curious people who inhabit Lake Prasias itself, who were not at all subdued by Megabazus;—they live upon the lake in dwellings erected upon planks fitted on lofty piles, which are driven in the middle of the lake, with a narrow entrance from the main land by a single bridge. These piles that support the planks all the citizens anciently placed there at the common charge; but afterward they estab-

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lished a law to the following effect: Whenever a man marries, for each wife he sinks three piles, bringing wood from a mountain called Orbelus: but every man has several wives. Each one has a hut on the planks, in which he dwells, with a trap-door closely fitted in the planks, and leading down to the lake. They tie the young children with a cord around the foot, for fear they should fall into the lake beneath. To their horses and beasts of burden they give fish for fodder; of which there is such an abundance, that you have simply to open your trap-door, let down an empty basket by a cord into the lake, when, after waiting a short time, you draw it up full of fish.

Megabazus, after conquering the Pæonians, arrived at the Hellespont, crossed over, and came to Sardis. In the meantime, Histiæus the Milesian was building a wall around the place, which, at his own request, he had received from Darius as a reward for his services in preserving the bridge: this place was near the river Strymon, and its name Myrcinus. Megabazus, upon learning what was being done by Histiæus, as soon as he reached Sardis said to Darius: "O king, what have you done, in allowing a crafty and subtle Greek to possess a city in Thrace, where there is an abundance of timber fit for building ships, and plenty of wood for oars, and silver mines? A great multitude of Greeks and barbarians dwell around, who, when they have obtained him as a leader, will do whatever he may command, both by

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day and by night. Put a stop therefore to the proceedings of this man, that you may not be harassed by a domestic war; send for him in a gentle manner, and stop him: and when you have him in your power, take care that he never returns to the Greeks." Megabazus easily persuaded Darius, since he wisely foresaw what was to happen. So Darius sent a messenger to Myrcinus, who spoke as follows: "Histiæus, King Darius says thus: I find on consideration that there is no man better affected to me and my affairs than thyself; and this I have learnt, not by words, but actions; now, since I have great designs to put in execution, come to me by all means, that I may communicate them to thee." Histiæus, giving credit to these words, and at the time considering it a great honor to become a counsellor of the king, went to Sardis: when he arrived, Darius said, "Histiæus, I have sent for you on this occasion. As soon as I returned from Scythia, and you were out of my sight, I have wished for nothing so much as to see you and converse with you again; being persuaded that a friend who is both intelligent and well affected, is the most valuable of all possessions; both of which I am able to testify from my own knowledge concur in you, as regards my affairs. You have done well in coming, and I make you this offer: Think no more of Miletus, nor of the new-founded city in Thrace; but follow me to Susa, have the same that I have, and be the partner of my table and counsels."

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And Darius appointed Artaphernes, his brother by the same father, to be governor of Sardis, and departed for Susa, taking Histiæus with him. He first nominated Otanes to be general of the forces on the coast, whose father, Sisamnes, one of the royal judges, King Cambyses had put to death and flayed, because he had given an unjust judgment for a sum of money. He had his skin torn off, and cut into thongs, and extended it on the bench on which he used to sit, when he pronounced judgment; then Cambyses appointed as judge in the room of Sisamnes, whom he had slain and flayed, the son of Sisamnes, admonishing him to remember on what seat he sat to administer justice. This very Otanes, then, being now appointed successor to Megabazus in the command of the army, subdued the Byzantians and Chalcedonians, and took Antandros, which belongs to the territory of Troas, and Lamponium; and obtaining ships from the Lesbians, he took Lemnos and Imbrus, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgians. The Lemnians fought valiantly, and defended themselves for some time, but were at length overcome; and over those

HEAD-DRESS OF A RIDING HORSE.

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who survived, the Persians set up Lycaretus as governor, the brother of Mæandrius, who had reigned in Samos. Otanes enslaved and subdued them all for various alleged reasons: some he charged with desertion to the Scythians; others he accused of having harassed Darius' army in their return home from the Scythians.

Afterward, for the intermission from misfortune was not of long duration, evils arose a second time to the Ionians from Naxos and Miletus. For, on the one hand, Naxos surpassed all the islands in opulence; and, on the other, Miletus, at the same time, had attained the summit of its prosperity, and was accounted the ornament of Ionia. Some of the opulent men, exiled from Naxos by the people, went to Miletus: the governor of Miletus happened to be Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras, son-in-law and cousin of Histiæus, whom Darius detained at Susa. These Naxians arrived at Miletus, entreated Aristagoras, if he could, by any means, to give them some assistance so that they might return to their own country. He, perceiving that if by his means they should return to their city, he might get the dominion of Naxos, used the friendship of Histiæus as a pretence, and addressed the following discourse to them: "I am not able of myself to furnish you with a force sufficient to reinstate you against the wishes of the Naxians, who are in possession of the city, for I hear that the Naxians have eight thousand heavy-armed

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men, and a considerable number of ships of war. Yet I will contrive some way, and use my best endeavors; my scheme is this: Artaphernes happens to be my friend; he is son of Hystaspes and brother of king Darius, and commands all the maritime parts of Asia, and has a large army and navy. This man, I am persuaded, will do whatever we desire." The Naxians urged Aristagoras to go about it in the best way he could, and bade him promise presents, and their expenses to the army, for they would repay it; having great expectation that when they should appear at Naxos the Naxians would do whatever they should order, as also would the other islanders; for of these Cyclades islands not one was as yet subject to Darius.

Accordingly Aristagoras journeyed to Sardis, and told Artaphernes that Naxos was an island of no great extent, to be sure, but beautiful and fertile, and near Ionia, and in it was much wealth and many slaves. "Do send an army against this country to reinstate those who have been banished; and if you do this, I have, in the first place, a large sum of money ready, in addition to the expenses of the expedition; for it is just that we who lead you on should supply that; and, in the next, you will acquire for the king Naxos itself, and the islands dependent upon it, Paros, Andros, and the rest that are called Cyclades. Setting out from there you will easily attack Eubœa, a large and wealthy island, not less than Cyprus, and

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very easy to be taken. A hundred ships are sufficient to subdue them all." The reply was quickly given: "You propose things advantageous to the king's house, and advise every thing well except the number of ships; instead of one hundred, two hundred shall be ready at the commencement of the spring. But it is necessary that the king himself should approve of the design." Aristagoras, wild with delight, went back to Miletus, and Artaphernes, finding that Darius himself approved of the plan, made ready two hundred triremes, and a very numerous body of Persians and other allies; and he appointed Megabates general, a Persian of the family of the Archimenidæ, his own and Darius' nephew, whose daughter, if the report be true, was afterward betrothed to Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus the Lacedæmonian, who aspired to become tyrant of Greece. Artaphernes, having appointed Megabates general, sent forward the army to Aristagoras.

Megabates, with Aristagoras, the Ionian forces, and the Naxians, sailed professedly for the Hellespont; but when he arrived at Chios, anchored at Caucasa, that he might cross over from there to Naxos by a north wind. However, it was fated that the Naxians were not to perish by this armament, as the following event occurred: As Megabates was going round the watches on board the ships, he found no one on guard on board a Myndian ship. Indignant at this, he ordered his body-guards to find the captain of this

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ship, whose name was Scylax, and to bind him with his body half-way through the lower rowlock of the vessel, so that his head should be on the outside of the vessel, and his legs within. Some one told Aristagoras that Megabates had bound and disgraced his Myndian friend. He went, therefore, and interceded for him with the Persian, but, when he found he could obtain nothing, went himself and released him. Megabates, hearing of this, was very indignant and enraged at Aristagoras, and told him so. "But," said Aristagoras, "what have you to do with these matters? Did not Artaphernes send you to obey me, and to sail wheresoever I should command?" Megabates, still more exasperated at this, as soon as night arrived, despatched men in a ship to Naxos to inform the Naxians of the impending danger. The Naxians, who had not a suspicion that this armament was coming against them, immediately carried every thing from the fields into the town, and, with plenty of food and drink, prepared to undergo a siege. So the Persians had to attack men well fortified, and, after besieging them four months, consumed all the supplies they had brought with them, together with large sums furnished by Aristagoras, and wanting still more to carry on the siege, they were forced to build a fortress for the Naxian exiles, and retire to the continent unsuccessful.

Aristagoras was thus unable to fulfil his promise to Artaphernes, while at the same time the expenses of

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the expedition pressed heavily on him on account of the ill success of the army; and having incurred the ill will of Megabates to such an extent that he feared that he should be deprived of the government of Miletus, he meditated a revolt. It happened at the same time that a messenger with his head tattooed came from Susa from Histiæus, urging Aristagoras to revolt from the king; for Histiæus, being desirous to communicate to Aristagoras his wish for him to revolt, had no other means of signifying it with safety, because the roads were guarded; therefore, having shaved the head of the most trustworthy of his slaves, he marked it with a sharp iron, and waited till the hair had grown again, then sent him to Miletus without other instructions except that when he arrived at Miletus he should desire Aristagoras to shave off his hair and look upon his head; the punctures, as I have said before, signified a wish for him to revolt. Histiæus did this because he looked upon his detention at Susa as a great misfortune; while if a revolt should take place, he had great hopes that he should be sent down to the coast; but if Miletus made no new attempt, he thought that he should never go there again. It was resolved to revolt, and messengers were sent to the force that had returned from Naxos, and which was at Myus, to seize the captains on board the ships. Aristagoras thus openly revolted, devising every thing he could against Darius. And first, in pretence, having laid aside the sover-

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eignty, he established an equality in Miletus, in order that the Milesians might more readily join with him in the revolt. Afterward he effected the same throughout the rest of Ionia, expelling some of the tyrants; and he delivered up those whom he had taken from on board the ships that had sailed with him against Naxos, to the cities, in order to gratify the people, giving them up to the respective cities from whence each came. The Mityleneans, as soon as they received Coes, led him out and stoned him to death: but the Cymeans let their tyrant go, and in like manner most of the others let theirs go. Accordingly, there was a suppression of tyrants throughout the cities. But Aristagoras enjoined them all to appoint magistrates in each of the cities, and went himself in a trireme as ambassador to Sparta, for it was necessary for him to procure some powerful alliance.

Aristagoras arrived at Sparta when Cleomenes held the government; and he went to confer with him, as the Lacedæmonians say, carrying a bronze tablet, on which was engraved the circumference of the whole earth, the whole sea, and all rivers. "Wonder not, Cleomenes," said Aristagoras, "at my eagerness in coming here, for it is a great sorrow to us that the children of Ionians should be slaves instead of free, and above all others it is a disgrace to you, inasmuch as you are at the head of Greece. I adjure you by the Grecian gods, rescue the Ionians,

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who are of your own blood, from servitude. It is easy for you to effect this, for the barbarians are not valiant; whereas you, in matters relating to war, have attained to the utmost height of glory; their mode of fighting is with bows and short spears, and they engage in battle wearing loose trousers, and turbans on their heads, so that they are easy to be overcome. Besides, there are treasures belonging to those who inhabit that continent such as are not possessed by all other nations together; gold, silver, bronze, variegated garments, beasts of burden, and slaves, — all these you may have if you will. They live adjoining one another as I will show you. Next to these Ionians are the Lydians, who inhabit a fertile country, and abound in silver." As he said this, he showed the map of the earth, which he had brought with him, engraved on a tablet. "Next to the Lydians," proceeded Aristagoras, "are these Phrygians, to the eastward, who are the richest in cattle and in corn of all with whom I am acquainted. Next to the Phrygians are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians; and bordering on them, the Cilicians, extending to this sea in which the island of Cyprus is situated; they pay an annual tribute of five hundred talents to the king. Next to the Cilicians are these Armenians, who also abound in cattle; and next to the Armenians are the Metienians, who occupy this country; and next them this territory of Cissia, in which Susa is situated, on this river Choas-

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pes, and here the great king resides, and here are his treasures of wealth. If you take this city, you may boldly contend with Jupiter in wealth. As it is, you carry on war for a country of small extent, and not very fertile, and of narrow limits, with the Messenians who are your equals in valor, and with the Arcadians and Argives, who have nothing akin to gold or silver, the desire of which induces men to hazard their lives in battle. But when an opportunity is offered to conquer all Asia with ease, will you prefer anything else?" "Milesian friend," said Cleomenes, "I defer to give you an answer until the third day." They met at the appointed time and place, and Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days' journey it was from the sea of the Ionians to the king. Aristagoras, though he was cunning in other things, and had deceived him with much address, made a slip in this; for he should not have told the real fact, if he wished to draw the Spartans into Asia; whereas he told him frankly that it was a three months' journey up there. Cutting short the rest of the description which Aristagoras was proceeding to give of the journey, Cleomenes said: "My friend from Miletus, depart from Sparta before sunset; for you speak no agreeable language to the Lacedæmonians in wishing to lead them a three months' journey from the sea;" and Cleomenes went home. Aristagoras, nothing daunted, taking an olive-branch in his hand, went to the house of Cleomenes, entered

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in as a suppliant, and besought Cleomenes to listen to him. The latter's little child, a daughter, whose name was Gorgo, stood by him; she happened to be his only child, and was about eight or nine years of age. Cleomenes bade him say what he wished, and not mind the presence of the little girl. Thereupon Aristagoras promised him ten talents if he would do as he desired; and as Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras went on increasing his offers, until he promised fifty talents, when little Gorgo cried out, "Papa, this stranger will corrupt you, if you don't quickly depart." Cleomenes, pleased with the advice of the child, retired to another apartment; and Aristagoras was forced to leave Sparta altogether, without ever getting another opportunity to give further particulars of the route to the city of the great king.

With respect to this road, the case is as follows: There are royal stations all along, and excellent inns, and the whole road is through an inhabited and safe country. There are twenty stations extending through Lydia and Phrygia, and the distance is ninety-four parasangs and a half. After Phrygia, the river Halys is met with, at which there are gates, which it is absolutely necessary to pass through and thus to cross the river; there is also a considerable fort on it. When you cross over into Cappadocia, and traverse that country to the borders of Cilicia, there are eight and twenty stations, and one hundred and four parasangs; and on the borders of these people, you go through two

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gates, and pass by two forts. When you have gone through these and made the journey through Cilicia, there are three stations, and fifteen parasangs and a half. The boundary of Cilicia and Armenia is a river that is crossed in boats, called the Euphrates. In Armenia there are fifteen stations for resting-places, and fifty-six parasangs and a half; there is also a fort at the stations. Four rivers that are crossed in boats flow through this country, which it is absolutely necessary to ferry over. First, the Tigris; then the second and third have the same name, though they are not the same river, nor flow from the same source. For the first mentioned of these flows from the Armenians, and the latter from the Matienians. The fourth river is called the Gyndes, which Cyrus once distributed into three hundred and sixty channels. As you enter from Armenia, into the country of Matiene, there are four stations; and from thence as you proceed to the Cissian territory there are eleven stations, and forty-two parasangs and a half, to the river Choaspes, which also must be crossed in boats; on this Susa is built. All these stations amount to one hundred and eleven,[1] as you go up from Sardis to Susa. Now, if the royal road has been correctly measured in parasangs, and if the parasang is equal to thirty

[1] The detail of stations above mentioned gives only eighty-one instead of one hundred and eleven. The discrepancy can only be accounted for by a supposed defect in the manuscripts.

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stades, as indeed it is, from Sardis to the royal palace, called Memnonia, is a distance of thirteen thousand five hundred stades, the parasangs being four hundred and fifty; and by those who travel one hundred and fifty stades every day, just ninety days are spent on the journey. So Aristagoras spoke correctly when he stated the distance to Susa.

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CHAPTER XXII.

THE IONIAN REVOLT.

ARISTAGORAS the Milesian, having been expelled from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, repaired to Athens; for this city was much more powerful than the rest. Presenting himself before the people, he said the same that he had done at Sparta, respecting the wealth of Asia and the Persian mode of warfare, how they used neither shield nor spear, and could be easily conquered. He said also that the Milesians were a colony of the Athenians, and it was but reasonable that they, having such great power, should rescue them. And as there was nothing he did not promise, being very much in earnest, at length he persuaded them. It appears to be more easy to impose upon a multitude than one man; this schemer, you see, was not able to impose upon Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, singly, but did upon thirty thousand Athenians. Twenty ships were sent to succor the Ionians, and Melanthius commander over them, a citizen who was universally esteemed. These ships proved the source of calamities both to Greeks

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and barbarians. Aristagoras sailed first, arrived at Miletus, and had recourse to a project from which no advantage could result to the Ionians; nor did he employ it for that purpose, but that he might vex king Darius. He sent a man into Phrygia, to the Pæonians, who had been carried away captive by Megabazus, from the river Strymon, and occupied a tract in Phrygia, and a village by themselves. Arrived among the Pæonians, the messenger spoke as follows: "Men of Pæonia, Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, has sent me to suggest to you a mode of deliverance, if you will take his advice. For all Ionia has revolted from the king, and offers you an opportunity of returning safe to your own country; as far as to the coast take care of yourselves, and we will provide for the rest." When the Pæonians heard these words, they considered it a very joyful event, and, taking with them their children and wives, fled to the coast; though some of them, through fear, remained where they were. When the Pæonians reached the coast, they crossed over to Chios, when a large body of Persian cavalry came on their heels, and sent orders to Chios to the Pæonians, commanding them to return. The Pæonians did not listen to the proposal; but the Chians conveyed them to Lesbos, and the Lesbians forwarded them to Doriscus; thence proceeding on foot they reached Pæonia.

The Athenians arrived with twenty ships, bringing with them five triremes of the Eretrians, who en-

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gaged in this expedition out of good will to the Milesians, in order to repay a former obligation; for the Milesians had formerly joined the Eretrians in the war against the Chalcidians. When these had arrived, and the rest of the allies had come up, Aristagoras resolved to make an expedition to Sardis. He himself did not march with the army, but remained at Miletus, and appointed as generals of the Milesians, his own brother Charopinus, and of the other citizens, Hermophantus. The Ionians arrived at Ephesus with this force, left their ships at Coressus, in the Ephesian territory, and advanced with a numerous army, taking Ephesians for their guides; and marching by the side of the river Cayster, they crossed Mount Tmolus, and reached and took Sardis without opposition; all except the citadel, for Artaphernes with a strong garrison defended the citadel. The following accident prevented them, after they had taken the city, from plundering it. Most of the houses in Sardis were built with reeds; and such of them as were built with brick, had roofs of reeds. A soldier happened to set fire to one of these, and immediately the flame spread from house to house, and consumed the whole city. While the city was burning, the Lydians, and as many of the Persians as were in the city, being enclosed on every side, and having no means of escaping from the city, rushed together to the market-place, and to the river Pactolus, which, bringing down grains of gold from Mount

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Tmolus, flows through the middle of the market-place, and then discharges itself into the river Hermus, and that into the sea. The Lydians and Persians being assembled on this Pactolus and at the market-place, were constrained to defend themselves; and the Ionians, seeing some of the enemy standing on their defence, and others coming up in great numbers, retired through fear to the mountain called Tmolus, and thence under favor of the night retreated to their ships. Thus Sardis was burnt, and in it the temple of the native goddess Cybebe; the Persians, making a pretext of this, afterwards burnt in retaliation the temples of Greece. As soon as the Persians who had settlements on this side the river Halys were informed of these things, they drew together and marched to assist the Lydians; the Ionians were no longer at Sardis; but following on their track they overtook them at Ephesus, where the Ionians drew out in battle-array against them, and, coming to an engagement, were sorely beaten; and the Persians slew many of them, among other persons of distinction, Eualcis, general of the Eretrians, who had gained the prize in the contest for the crown, and had been much celebrated by Simonides the Cean. Those who escaped from the battle were dispersed throughout the cities.

Such was the result of the encounter. Afterward, the Athenians, totally abandoning the Ionians, though Aristagoras urgently solicited them by ambassadors,

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refused to send them any assistance. The Ionians, deprived of the alliance of the Athenians (for they had conducted themselves in such a manner toward Darius from the first), nevertheless prepared for war with the king. And sailing to the Hellespont, they reduced Byzantium and all the other cities in that quarter to their obedience. They then sailed out of the Hellespont, and gained over to their alliance the greater part of Caria; for the city of Caunus, which before would not join their alliance, when they had burnt Sardis, came over to their side.

When it was told king Darius, that Sardis had been taken and burnt by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras the Milesian was the chief of the confederacy and the contriver of that enterprise, it is related that he took no account of the Ionians, well knowing that they would not escape unpunished for their rebellion, but inquired where the Athenians were; then having been informed, he called for a bow, put an arrow into it, let it fly toward heaven, and as he shot it into the air exclaimed: "O Jupiter, grant that I may revenge myself on the Athenians!" Then he commanded one of his attendants, every time dinner was set before him, to say thrice: "Sire, remember the Athenians." Summoning to his presence Histiæus the Milesian, whom he had already detained a long time, Darius said: "I am informed, Histiæus, that your lieutenant, to whom you intrusted Miletus, has attempted innovations against me; for

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he has brought men from the other continent, and with them Ionians, who shall give me satisfaction for what they have done; and has deprived me of Sardis. Now, can it appear to you that this is right? Could such a thing have been done without your advice? Beware lest hereafter you expose yourself to blame." To this Histiæus answered: "O king, what have you said? That I should advise a thing from which any grief, great or little, should ensue to you! With what object should I do so? What am I in want of? I, who have all things the same as you, and am deemed worthy to share all your counsels? But if my lieutenant has done any such thing as you mention, be assured he has done it of his own contrivance. But I do not believe the account that the Milesians and my lieutenant have attempted any innovations against your authority. Yet if you have heard the truth, consider, O king, what mischief you have done in withdrawing me from the coast. For the Ionians seem, when I was out of their sight, to have done what they long ago desired to do; and had I been in Ionia not one city would have stirred. Suffer me therefore to go with all speed to Ionia, that I may restore all things there to their former condition, and deliver into your hands this lieutenant of Miletus, who has plotted the whole. When I have done this according to your mind, I swear by the royal gods not to put off the garments which I shall wear when I go down to Ionia, before I have

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made the great island Sardinia tributary to you." His speaking thus deceived the king; Darius was persuaded, and let him go, charging him to return to Susa as soon as he should have accomplished what he had promised.

While the news concerning Sardis was going up to the king, tidings were brought to Onesilus the Salaminian, as he was besieging the Amathusians, that Artybius, a Persian, leading a large Persian force on shipboard, was to be expected in Cyprus. Onesilus accordingly sent heralds to the different parts of Ionia, inviting them to assist him; and the Ionians, without any protracted deliberation, arrived at Cyprus with a large armament. The Persians crossed over in ships from Cilicia, and marched by land against Salamis.

Then the kings of the Cyprians drew up their forces in line, and stationed the best of the Salaminians and Solians against the Persians. Onesilus voluntarily took up his position directly against Artybius, the general of the Persians. Artybius used to ride on a horse, that had been taught to rear up against an armed enemy. Onesilus had a shield-bearer, a Carian, well skilled in matters of war, and otherwise full of courage, to whom he said: "I am informed that the horse of Artybius rears up, and with his feet and mouth attacks whomsoever he is made to engage with; tell me which you will watch and strike, whether the horse or Artybius himself." His

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attendant answered: "I am ready to do both, or either of them, but a king and a general ought, I think, to engage with a king and a general. If you vanquish one who is a general, your glory is great; while if he should vanquish you, which may the gods avert, to fall by a noble hand is but half the calamity. We servants should engage with other servants, and also against a horse, whose tricks you need not fear at all; for I promise you he shall never again rear up against any man." Forthwith the forces joined battle by land and sea. Now, the Ionians fought valiantly on that day, when the armies met in close combat; and when Artybius, seated on his horse, bore down upon Onesilus, Onesilus, as he had concerted with his shield-bearer, struck Artybius himself; and as the horse was throwing his feet against the shield of Onesilus, the Carian with a scythe cut off the horse's feet. So that Artybius, the general of the Persians, fell together with his horse on the spot. While the rest were fighting, Stesenor, of Curium, deserted with no inconsiderable body of men, and the chariots of war belonging to the Salaminians did the same as the Curians. Consequently the Persians became superior to the Cyprians. The army was put to flight, many fell, and amongst them Onesilus, and the king of the Solians, Aristocyprus, son of the Philocyprus whom Solon the Athenian, when he visited Cyprus, celebrated in his verses above all tyrants. The Amathusians cut off the head of On-

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esilus, because he had besieged them, took it to Amathus, and suspended it over the gates; and when the head had become hollow, a swarm of bees entered it, and filled it with honey-comb. An answer was given to the Amathusians, who consulted the oracle respecting it, "that they should take down the head and bury it, and sacrifice annually to Onesilus, as to a hero, and that it would turn out better for them."

Afterward, the Persians crossed the Mæander and engaged the Carians on the banks of the river Marsyas. They fought an obstinate battle, and at last overpowered them. Of the Persians there fell about two thousand, and of the Carians ten thousand. The Carians, however, afterward recovered from this wound, and renewed the contest. For hearing that the Persians designed to invade their cities, they placed an ambuscade on the way to Pedasus, into which the Persians, falling by night, were cut in pieces, with their generals Daurises, Amorges, and Sisamaces.

Hymees, who was one of those who pursued the Ionians that had attacked Sardis, bending his march toward the Propontis, took Cius of Mysia. When he heard that Daurises had quitted the Hellespont, and was marching against Caria, he abandoned the Propontis, and led his army on the Hellespont. He subdued all the Æolians who inhabited the territory of Ilium, and subdued the Gergithæ, the remaining

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descendants of the ancient Teucrians. Just then, however, he died of disease in the Troad. But Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Otanes, who were appointed to invade Ionia and the neighboring territory of Æolia, took Clazomenæ and Cyme.

Aristagoras the Milesian, for he was not, as it proved, a man of strong courage, after he had thus thrown Ionia into confusion, and raised great disturbances, thought of flight when he saw these results. Besides, it appeared to him impossible to overcome King Darius; so, calling his partisans together, he suggested "that it would be better for them to have some sure place of refuge, in case they should be expelled from Miletus." He asked, therefore, whether he should lead them to Sardinia to found a colony, or to Myrcinus of the Edonians, which Histiæus had begun to fortify, having received it as a gift from Darius. However, the opinion of Hecatæus the historian, son of Hegesander, was that they should set out for neither of these places, but should build a fortress in the island of Leros, and remain quiet, if they were compelled to quit Miletus. But Aristagoras himself was decidedly in favor of proceeding to Myrcinus. He therefore entrusted Miletus to Pythagoras, a citizen of distinction, and, taking with him all who were willing, sailed to Thrace and took possession of the region to which he was bound. But both Aristagoras himself and all his army perished while he was laying siege to a city in Thrace.

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ERATO.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE IONIAN REVOLT.

ARISTAGORAS thus induced the Ionians to revolt, and died; and Histiæus, tyrant of Miletus, repaired to Sardis. When he arrived from Susa, Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, asked him for what reason he supposed the Ionians had revolted. Histiæus said he did not know, and seemed surprised at what had happened, as if he knew nothing of the present state of affairs. But Artaphernes saw that he was dissembling, and, being aware of the exact truth as to the revolt, said: "Histiæus, the state of the case is this: you made the shoe, and Aristagoras has put it on." Histiæus, in alarm, fled to the coast as soon as night came on, and although he had promised to reduce the great island of Sardinia for Darius, he insinuated himself into the command of the Ionians in the war against him. At Chios he was taken and

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put in chains, being suspected by the Chians of planning some new design against them in favor of Darius. However, the Chians, being assured that he was an enemy to the king, released him, and conveyed him to Miletus at his own request; but the Milesians, delighted at being rid of Aristagoras, were by no means desirous to receive another tyrant into their country, as they had tasted of freedom. Thereupon Histiæus, going down to Miletus by night, endeavored to enter it by force, but was wounded in the thigh by one of the Milesians. When he was repulsed from his own country, he went back to Chios, and from there, since he could not persuade the Chians to help him, he crossed over to Mitylene, and prevailed with the Lesbians to furnish him with ships. They manned eight triremes, and sailed with Histiæus to Byzantium. There taking up their station, they took all the ships that sailed out of the Pontus, except such of them as said they were ready to submit to Histiæus.

But a large naval and land force was expected against Miletus itself. For the Persian generals had united their forces and formed one camp to march to Miletus, deeming the other cities of less consequence. The Ionians, hearing of this, sent their respective deputies to the Panionium, and determined not to assemble any land forces to oppose the Persians; but bade the Milesians themselves defend their walls, while they should man their navy, without leaving a single ship

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behind, and assemble as soon as possible at Lade, to fight in defence of Miletus. Lade is a small island lying off the city of the Milesians. Soon the Ionians came up with their ships manned, and formed their line, a fleet three hundred and fifty-three triremes strong. On the side of the barbarians the number of ships amounted to six hundred, and when they arrived on the Milesian coast, and all their land forces had come up, the Persian generals began to fear they should not be strong enough to overcome them, and so should be also unable to take Miletus, since they were not masters at sea, and then might be in danger of receiving punishment at the hands of Darius. Taking these things into consideration, they summoned the tyrants of the Ionians, who had been deprived of their governments by Aristagoras, and had fled to the Medes, and who happened at that time to be serving in the army against Miletus. "Men of Ionia," they said, "let each of you now show his zeal for the king's house. For let each of you endeavor to detach his own countrymen from the rest of the confederacy, and proclaim this, that they shall suffer no hurt on account of their rebellion, nor shall their buildings, whether sacred or profane, be burnt, nor shall they be treated with more severity than they were before. But if they do not do this, and will at all events come to the hazard of a battle, threaten that, when conquered in battle, they shall all be enslaved." And the tyrants of the Ionians sent each by night to

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his own countrymen, to make known the warning. But the Ionians to whom these messages came, continued firm to their purpose and would not listen to treachery; for each thought that the Persians had sent this message.

When the Ionians had assembled at Lade, a council was held, and the Phocæan general Dionysius spoke as follows: "Our affairs are in a critical [1] state, O Ionians; we are to be freemen or slaves, and that too runaway slaves. But if you are willing to undergo hardships, for the present you will have to toil, but will be enabled, by overcoming your enemies, to be free; on the other hand, if you abandon yourselves to ease and disorder, I have no hope that you will escape punishment at the hands of the king for your revolt. But be persuaded by me, and entrust yourselves to my guidance, and I promise you that if the gods are impartial, either our enemies will not fight us at all, or, if they do fight with us, they will be completely beaten." The Ionians entrusted themselves to the guidance of Dionysius without hesitation, who daily led out the ships into a line, exercised the rowers, by practising the manœuvre of cutting through one another's line, put the marines under arms, and kept the ships at anchor for the rest of the day. For seven days they continued to obey, but on the eighth the Ionians, unaccustomed to such toil, and worn down by hardships and

[1] The Greek words, literally translated, mean "on a razor's edge."

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the heat of the sun, grumbled to each other in such terms as these: "What deity have we offended to fill up this measure of affliction? we who were so beside ourselves as to have entrusted ourselves to the guidance of a presumptuous Phocæan, who, all told, contributed only three ships, but, having got us under his control, afflicts us with intolerable hardships. Many of us have already fallen into distempers, and many more must expect to meet with the same fate. Instead of these evils, it would be better for us to suffer any thing else, and to endure the impending servitude, be it what it may, than be oppressed by the present. Come, let us no longer obey him." And from that moment no one would obey; but, pitching their tents on the island, they continued under the shade, and would not go on board the ships, or perform their exercise. When the generals of the Samians observed what was passing among the Ionians, and saw great disorder among them, they accepted the proposal of Æaces, son of Syloson, which he had before sent them at the desire of the Persians, exhorting them to abandon the confederacy of the Ionians. Besides, it was clearly impossible for them to overcome the power of the king, because they were convinced that if they should overcome Darius with his present fleet, another five times as large would come against them. So laying hold of this pretext, as soon as they saw the Ionians refusing to behave well, they deemed it for their advantage to preserve their own buildings, sacred and profane.

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When, therefore, the Phœnicians sailed against them, the Ionians drew out their ships in line to oppose them; but when they came near and opposed each other, I am unable to affirm with certainty who of the Ionians proved themselves cowards or brave men in this sea-fight, for they mutually accuse each other. The Samians, however, are said at that moment to have hoisted sail, in pursuance of their agreement with Æaces, and steered out of the line to Samos, with the exception of eleven ships, the captains of which stayed and fought, refusing to obey their commanders; and for this action the commonwealth of the Samians conferred upon them the honor of having their names and ancestry engraved on a column, as those who had proved themselves valiant men; and this column now stands in the forum. The Lesbians, also, seeing those stationed next them flee, did the same as the Samians, and most of the Ionians followed their example. Of those that persisted in the battle, the Chians were most roughly handled, as they displayed signal proofs of valor, and would not act as cowards. They had contributed one hundred ships, and on board each of them forty chosen citizens served as marines; and though they saw most of the confederates abandoning the common cause, they disdained to follow the example of their treachery; but choosing rather to remain with the few allies, they continued the fight, cutting through the enemies' line, until, after they

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had taken many of the enemies' ships, they lost most of their own. The Chians then fled to their own country with the remainder of their fleet. Those Chians whose ships were disabled in the fight took refuge in Mycale, ran their ships aground, and left them there, and marched overland across the continent. On their return they entered the territory of Ephesus, and arrived near the city by night, at a time when the women were celebrating the Thesmophoria; thereupon, the Ephesians, not having before heard how it had fared with the Chians, and seeing an army enter their territory, thinking they were certainly robbers, and had come to seize their women, rushed out in a body and slew the Chians. When Dionysius the Phocæan perceived that the affairs of the Ionians were utterly ruined, he took three of the enemies' ships and sailed away, not indeed to Phocæa, well knowing that it would be enslaved with the rest of Ionia, but directly to Phœnicia; and there, having disabled some merchant-men and obtained great wealth, he sailed to Sicily, where he established himself as a pirate, attacking none of the Greeks, but only Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians.

When the Persians had conquered the Ionians in the sea-fight they besieged Miletus by land and sea, undermined the walls, and, bringing up all kinds of military engines against it, took it completely, in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras. They reduced the city to slavery, so that the event coincided

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with the oracle delivered concerning Miletus; for when the Argives consulted the oracle at Delphi respecting the preservation of their city, a double answer was given; part concerning themselves, and the addition concerning the Milesians. The part relating to the Argives I will mention when I come to that part of the history; the words the Pythian uttered relative to the Milesians, who were not present, were these: "Then, Miletus, contriver of wicked deeds, thou shalt become a feast and a rich gift to many; thy wives shall wash the feet of many long-haired masters, and our temple at Didymi shall be tended by others." These things befell the Milesians at that time; for most of the men were killed by the Persians, who wear long hair, their women and children were treated as slaves, and the sacred enclosure at Didymi —both the temple and the shrine—were pillaged and burnt. Of the riches in this temple I have frequently made mention in other parts of my history. Such of the Milesians as were taken alive were afterward conveyed to Susa, and King Darius did them no harm, but settled them on the Red Sea, in the city of Ampe, near by which the Tigris falls into the sea. Of the Milesian territory, the Persians themselves retained the parts round the city and the plain; the mountainous parts they gave to the Carians of Pedasus to occupy. When the Milesians suffered this at the hands of the Persians, the Sybarites, who inhabited Laos and Scydrus, did not show equal sym-

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pathy. But when Sybaris was taken by the Crotonians, all the Milesians of every age had shaved their heads, and displayed marks of deep mourning; for these two cities had been more strictly united in friendship than any others we are acquainted with. The Athenians behaved in a very different manner; for the Athenians made it evident that they were excessively grieved at the capture of Miletus, both in many other ways, and more particularly when

AMPHITHEATRE AT POLA.

Phrynichus had composed a drama of the capture of Miletus, and represented it, the whole theatre burst into tears, and fined him a thousand drachmas[1] for renewing the memory of their domestic misfortunes, and they gave order that henceforth no one should act this drama.

[1] There is very good reason to believe that this fine was really imposed for the adoption of a modern theme by Phrynichus, when hitherto only the gods and heroes had been permissible subjects.

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While Histiæus the Milesian was near Byzantium, intercepting the trading ships of the Ionians that sailed out of the Pontus, news was brought him of what had taken place at Miletus; he therefore entrusted his affairs on the Hellespont to Bisaltes, son of Apollophanes, of Abydos, and with the Lesbians sailed to Chios and engaged with a garrison of Chians that would not admit him at a place called Cœli, in the Chian territory, and killed great numbers of them. The deity is wont to give some previous warning when any great calamities are about to befall city or nation, and before these misfortunes great warnings happened to the Chians. For, in the first place, when they sent to Delphi a band of one hundred youths, two only of them returned home, for a pestilence seized and carried off the remaining ninety-eight. In the next place, a little before the sea-fight, a house in the city fell in upon some boys as they were learning to read, so that of one hundred and twenty boys one only escaped. After this, the sea-fight following threw the city prostrate; and after the sea-fight Histiæus with the Lesbians came upon them, and as the Chians had been much shattered, he easily reduced them to subjection. From there Histiæus proceeded to attack Thasus with a large body of Ionians and Æolians; and while he was besieging Thasus, Harpagus the Persian, general of a considerable army, who, happening to be in those parts, engaged with him after his landing, took Histiæus himself prisoner, and destroyed the greater part of his army.

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Now if, when Histiæus was taken prisoner, he had been conducted to King Darius, in my opinion he would have suffered no punishment, and the king would have forgiven him his fault. But for this very reason, lest by escaping he should again regain his influence with the king, Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who received him as soon as he was conducted to Sardis, impaled his body on the spot, and embalmed the head and sent it to Darius at Susa. Darius blamed those that had done it, because they had not brought him alive into his presence, and gave orders that they should wash and adorn the head of Histiæus, and inter it honorably, as the remains of a man who had been a great benefactor to himself and the Persians.

The naval force of the Persians wintered near Miletus. In the second year it set sail for the islands lying near the continent, — Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, which it easily subdued. When they took any one of these islands, the barbarians netted the inhabitants in this manner: Taking one another by the hand, they would extend from the northern to the southern sea, and so march over the island, hunting out the inhabitants. They also took the Ionian cities on the continent with the same ease; but did not net the inhabitants, for that was impossible. Thus the Ionians were for the third time reduced to slavery; first by the Lydians, then twice successively by the Persians. The naval force, departing from

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Ionia, reduced all the places on the left of the Hellespont as one sails in; and all the cities of the Chersonese except Cardia, they subdued.

Till that time Miltiades, son of Cimon, was tyrant of these cities, Miltiades, son of Cypselus, having formally acquired this government in the following manner: The Thracian Dolonci possessed this Chersonese; these Dolonci, being pressed in war by the Apsynthians, sent their kings to Delphi to consult the oracle concerning the war; the Pythian answered them, "that they should take that man with them to their country to found a colony, who, after their departure from the temple, should first offer them hospitality." Accordingly the Dolonci, going by the sacred way, went through the territories of the Phocians and Bœotians, and when no one invited them, turned out of the road toward Athens. At that time Pisistratus had the supreme power at Athens; but Miltiades, son of Cypselus, had considerable influence; he was of a family that maintained horses for the chariot-races, and was originally descended from Æacus and Ægina, but in later times was an Athenian, Philæus, son of Ajax, having been the first Athenian of that family. This Miltiades, being seated in his own portico, and seeing the Dolonci passing by, wearing a dress not belonging to the country, and carrying javelins, called out to them; and upon their coming to him, he offered them shelter and hospitality. They, grateful for their entertainment,

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made known to him the whole oracle, and entreated him to obey the deity. Their words persuaded Miltiades as soon as he heard them, for he was troubled with the government of Pisistratus, and desired to get out of his way. He therefore immediately set out to Delphi to ask the oracle whether he should do that which the Dolonci requested of him. The Pythian having bade him do so, Miltiades took with him all such Athenians as were willing to join in the expedition, and set sail with the Dolonci, and took possession of the country; and they who introduced him appointed him tyrant. He first of all built a wall on the isthmus of the Chersonese, from the city of Cardia to Pactya, in order that the Apsynthians might not be able to injure them by making incursions into their country. The width of this isthmus is thirty-six stades; and from this isthmus the whole Chersonese inward is four hundred and twenty stades in length. Miltiades next made war upon the Lampsacenians, who laid an ambush and took him prisoner. But Miltiades was well known to Crœsus, who, on hearing of this event, sent and commanded the Lampsacenians to release Miltiades; if not, he threatened that he would destroy them like a pine-tree. The Lampsacenians, uncertain as to what was the meaning of this saying, discovered with some difficulty from one of the elders that the pine alone of all trees, when cut down, does not send forth any more shoots, but perishes entirely; whereupon the Lampsacenians,

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dreading the power of Crœsus, set Miltiades at liberty. He accordingly escaped by means of Crœsus, and afterward died childless, having bequeathed the government and his property to Stesagoras, his brother by the same mother. When he was dead the Chersonesians sacrificed to him, as is usual to a founder, and instituted equestrian and gymnastic exercises, in which no Lampsacenian is permitted to contend. The war with the Lampsacenians still continuing, it also befell Stesagoras to die childless; being struck on the head with an axe in the prytaneum, by a man who in pretence was a deserter, but was in fact an enemy, and a very vehement one.

Upon the death of Stesagoras, the Pisistratidæ sent Miltiades, son of Cimon, and brother of Stesagoras who had died, with one ship to the Chersonese, to assume the government; they had also treated him with kindness at Athens, as if they had not been parties to the death of his father Cimon. Miltiades, having arrived in the Chersonese, kept himself at home under color of honoring the memory of his brother Stesagoras, and the principal persons of all the cities assembled together from every quarter, and came in a body with the intention of condoling with him, whereupon they were all thrown into chains by him. Thus Miltiades got possession of the Chersonese, maintaining five hundred auxiliaries, and married Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus, King of the Thracians. This Miltiades, son of Cimon, had lately

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arrived in the Chersonese, but having heard that the Phœnicians were at Tenedos, he loaded five triremes with the property he had at hand, and sailed away for Athens. But when he had set out from the city of Cardia, he sailed through the gulf of Melas, and as he was passing by the Chersonese, the Phœnicians fell in with his ships. Miltiades himself escaped with four of the ships to Imbrus, but the fifth the Phœnicians pursued and took; of this ship Metiochus, the eldest of the sons of Miltiades, happened to be commander, whom the Phœnicians took together with the ship. When they heard that he was son of Miltiades, they took him up to the king, thinking that they should obtain great favor for themselves, because Miltiades had given an opinion to the Ionians advising them to comply with the Scythians, when the Scythians requested them to loose the bridge and return to their own country. But Darius did the young man no injury, but many favors; for he gave him a house and an estate, and a Persian wife, by whom he had children, who were reckoned among the Persians. Meantime Miltiades arrived safely at Athens.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

EXPEDITION OF MARDONIUS.

In the beginning of the spring the other generals were dismissed by the king, but Mardonius, son of Gobryas, went down to the coast, taking with him a very large land army, and a numerous naval force: he was young in years, and had lately married king Darius' daughter, Artazostra. When he arrived in Cilicia, and had gone in person on board ship, he proceeded with the rest of the fleet, while the other generals led the land army to the Hellespont. When Mardonius reached Ionia, he did a thing which, when I mention it, will be a matter of very great astonishment to those Greeks who cannot believe that Otanes, one of the seven Persians, gave an opinion that it was right for the Persians to be governed by a democracy; for Mardonius deposed the tyrants of the Ionians, and established democracies in the cities.

After this, Darius made trial of what were the intentions of the Greeks, whether to make war with him, or to deliver themselves up. He therefore despatched

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heralds, appointing different persons to go to different parts throughout Greece, with orders to ask earth and water for the king, the Persian method of demanding submission. These he sent to Greece, and despatched other heralds to the tributary cities on the coast, with orders to build ships of war and transports for horses. To the heralds who came to Greece many of the inhabitants of the continent gave what the Persian demanded, as did all the islanders also, and moreover the Æginetæ, whereupon the Athenians forthwith threatened them, thinking that the Æginetæ had given earth and water out of ill will toward themselves, in order that they might make war on them in conjunction with the Persian. And the Athenians laying hold of the pretext sent to Sparta to accuse the Æginetæ of what they had done as betraying Greece.

The Spartans say, that once upon a time there lived in Lacedæmon one Glaucus, son of Epicydes. This man attained to the first rank in all respects, and bore the highest character for justice of all who at that time dwelt at Lacedæmon. In the course of time a certain Milesian came to Sparta and wished to have a conference with him, and said: "I am a Milesian, and have come, Glaucus, with the desire of profiting by your justice, of which, throughout all the rest of Greece, and particularly in Ionia, there is great talk. Ionia is so continually exposed to great dangers, while with us one can never see the same

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persons retaining property. Having, therefore, reflected and deliberated on these things, I determined to change half of my whole substance into silver and deposit it with you, being well assured that with you it would be safe. Do you, then, take this money, and preserve these tokens; and whosoever possessing these shall demand it back again, restore it to him." So spoke the stranger who came from Miletus, and Glaucus received the deposit, on the condition mentioned. After a long time had elapsed, the sons of this man who had deposited the money came to Sparta, and addressed themselves to Glaucus, showed the tokens, and demanded back the money. Glaucus repulsed them, answering as follows: "I don't remember the matter, nor any of the circumstances you mention; but if I can recall it to my mind, I am willing to do every thing that is just; if I really received it, I wish to restore it correctly; but if I have not received it at all, I shall have recourse to the laws of the Greeks against you. I therefore defer settling this matter with you for four months from the present time." The Milesians in disappointment departed, taking greatly to heart the loss of their money. But Glaucus went to Delphi to consult the oracle; and, when he asked the oracle whether he should make a booty of the money by an oath, the Pythian assailed him in the following words: "Glaucus, son of Epicydes, thus to prevail by an oath, and to make a booty of the money, will

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be a present gain. But there is a nameless son of Perjury, who has neither hands nor feet; he pursues swiftly, until he has seized and destroyed the whole race, and all the house of him who has falsely sworn. But the race of a man who keeps his oath is afterward more blessed." Glaucus, hearing this, entreated the god to pardon the words he had spoken. But the Pythian said that to tempt the god, and to commit the crime, were the same thing. So Glaucus sent for the Milesian strangers, and restored them the money. There is at present not a single descendent of Glaucus, nor any house which is supposed to have belonged to Glaucus; but he is utterly extirpated from Sparta. Thus it is right to have no other thought concerning a deposit, than to restore it when it is demanded.

The Æginetæ, offended at what they considered a great affront, prepared to revenge themselves on the Athenians: and as the Athenians happened to have a five-benched galley at Sunium, they formed an ambuscade and took the ship "Theoris,"[1] filled with the principal Athenians, and put the men in chains. The Athenians, thus treated by the Æginetæ, no longer delayed to devise all sorts of plans against them. Now there was in Ægina an eminent man named Nicodromus, son of Cnœthus; incensed against

[1] The "Theoris" was a vessel which was sent every year to Delos to offer sacrifice to Apollo.

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the Æginetæ on account of his former banishment from the island, and now hearing that the Athenians were preparing to do a mischief to the Æginetæ, he entered into an agreement with the Athenians for the betrayal of Ægina, mentioning on what day he would make the attempt, and on what it would be necessary for them to come to his assistance. Nicodromus, according to his agreement, on the appointed day seized that which is called the old town. The Athenians, however, did not arrive at the proper time, for they happened not to have a sufficient number of ships to engage with the Æginetæ; and while they were entreating the Corinthians to furnish them with ships, their plan was ruined. The Corinthians, for they were then on very friendly terms with them, at their request supplied the Athenians with twenty ships, hiring them out at a nominal price of five drachmæ each; because by their laws they were forbidden to give them for nothing. The Athenians, taking these and their own, manned seventy ships in all, sailed to Ægina, and arrived one day after that agreed upon. When the Athenians did not arrive at the proper time, Nicodromus embarked on shipboard and made his escape from Ægina; and others of the Æginetæ accompanied him, to whom the Athenians gave Sunium for a habitation; and they, sallying from thence, plundered the Æginetæ in the island. This, however, happened subsequently. In the meantime the most wealthy of the Æginetæ overpowered

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RUINS OF AN ANCIENT TEMPLE IN CORINTH.

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the common people, who, together with Nicodromus, had revolted against them, and led them out to execution. On this occasion, they incurred a guilt, which they were unable to expiate by any contrivance, as they were ejected out of the island before the goddess became propitious to them. For having taken seven hundred of the common people prisoners, they led them out to execution; and one of them, who escaped from his bonds, fled to the porch of Ceres the lawgiver, and seizing the door-handle, held it fast; when they were unable by dragging to tear him away, they cut off his hands, and so took him away; and the hands were left sticking on the door-handles. So did the Æginetæ treat their own people. But when the Athenians arrived with their seventy ships, they came to an engagement, and being conquered in the sea-fight, they called upon the same persons as before for assistance, that is, on the Argives. They, however, would not any longer succor them, but complained that the ships of the Æginetæ, having been forcibly seized by Cleomenes, had touched on the territory of Argos, and the crews had disembarked with the Lacedæmonians. Some men had also disembarked from Sicyonian ships in the same invasion; and a penalty was imposed upon them by the Argives, to pay a thousand talents, five hundred each. The Sicyonians, acknowledging that they had acted unjustly, made an agreement to pay one hundred talents, and be free from the rest; but

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the Æginetæ would not own themselves in the wrong, and were very obstinate. On this account, therefore, none of the Argives were sent by the commonwealth to assist them; but, on their request, volunteers went to the number of a thousand; a general, whose name was Eurybates, and who had practised for the pentathlon, led them. The greater number of these never returned home, but were slain by the Athenians in Ægina. The general, Eurybates, engaging in single combat, killed three several antagonists in that manner, but was slain by the fourth, Sophanes of Decelea. But the Æginetæ attacked the fleet of the Athenians when they were in disorder, and obtained a victory, and took four of their ships with the men on board.

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CHAPTER XXV.

EXPEDITION OF DATIS AND ARTAPHERNES; THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

WAR was accordingly kindled between the Athenians and Æginetæ. But the Persian pursued his own design, for the servant continually reminded him to remember the Athenians, and the Pisistratidæ constantly importuned him and accused the Athenians; and at the same time Darius was desirous of subduing those people of Greece who had refused to give him earth and water. He therefore dismissed Mardonius from his command, because he had succeeded ill in his expedition; and appointed other generals, whom he sent against Eretria and Athens, namely, Datis, who was a Mede by birth, and Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes, his own nephew; and he despatched them with strict orders to enslave Athens and Eretria, and bring the bondsmen into his presence. When these generals who were appointed left the king, and reached the Aleian plain of Cilicia, bringing with them a numerous and well-equipped army, they encamped there until the whole

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naval force required from each people came up: the horse-transports were also present, which Darius in the preceding year had commanded his tributaries to prepare. They put the horses on board of these, and embarked the land forces in the ships, and sailed for Ionia with six hundred triremes. From there they did not steer their ships along the continent direct to the Hellespont and Thrace; but parting from Samos they bent their course across the Icarian sea, and through the islands, dreading the circumnavigation of Athos, because, in the preceding year, in attempting a passage that way, they had sustained great loss.

While they were doing this, the Delians also, abandoning Delos, fled to Tenos; but, as the fleet was sailing down toward it, Datis would not permit the ships to anchor near the island, but further on, off Rhenea; and he, having ascertained where the Delians were, sent a herald and addressed them as follows: "Sacred men, why have you fled, forming an unfavorable opinion of me? For both I myself have so much wisdom, and am so ordered by the king, that in the region where the two deities[1] were born, no harm should be done either to the country itself or its inhabitants. Return, therefore, to your houses, and resume possession of the island." This message he sent to the Delians by means of a herald; and

[1] Apollo and Diana.

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afterward heaped up three hundred talents of frankincense upon the altar, and burnt it. Then Datis sailed with the army first against Eretria, taking with him both Ionians and Æolians. But after he had put out to sea from there, Delos was shaken by an earthquake, as the Delians say, the first and last time that it was ever so affected. And the deity assuredly by this portent intimated to men the evils that were about to befall them. For during the three successive reigns of Darius, son of Hystaspes, of Xerxes, son of Darius, and of Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, more disasters befell Greece than during the twenty generations that preceded the time of Darius, partly brought upon it by the Persians and partly by the chief men amongst them contending for power. So that it is not at all improbable that Delos should be moved at that time, though until then unmoved; and in an oracle respecting it, it had been thus written: "I will move even Delos, although hitherto unmoved." And in the Greek language these names mean: Darius, "one who restrains;" Xerxes, "a warrior;" and Artaxerxes, "a mighty warrior."

After the barbarians had parted from Delos, and touched at the islands, they took with them men to serve in the army, and carried away the sons of the islanders for hostages. Having subdued Eretria, and rested a few days, they sailed to Attica, pressing the inhabitants very close, and expecting to treat them in the same way as they had the Eretrians. Now as

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Marathon was the spot in Attica best adapted for cavalry, and nearest to Eretria, they gathered their forces there. When the Athenians heard of this, they also sent their forces to Marathon: and ten generals led them, of whom the tenth was Miltiades, whose father, Cimon, had been banished from Athens by Pisistratus. During his exile, it was his good fortune to obtain the Olympic prize in the four-horse chariot race, the honor of which victory he transferred to Miltiades, his brother by the same mother; afterward, in the next Olympiad, being victorious with the same mares, he permitted Pisistratus to be proclaimed victor, and returned home under terms. But after he had gained a third Olympic prize with the same mares, it happened that he died by the hands of the sons of Pisistratus, when Pisistratus himself was no longer alive; they slew him near the Prytaneum, having placed men to waylay him by night. Cimon was buried in front of the city, beyond that which is called the road to Cœla, and opposite him these same mares were buried, which won the three Olympic prizes. Stesagoras, the elder son of Cimon, was at that time being educated by his uncle in the Chersonese, but the younger by Cimon himself at Athens, and he had the name of Miltiades, from Miltiades, the founder of the Chersonese. At that time, then, this Miltiades, coming from the Chersonese, and having escaped a twofold death, became general of the Athenians; for, in the first

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place, the Phœnicians pursued him as far as Imbros, exceedingly desirous of seizing him and carrying him up to the king; and in the next, when he had escaped them, and had returned to his own country, and thought himself in safety, his enemies attacked him, and brought him before a court of justice, to prosecute him for tyranny in the Chersonese. These also he escaped, and was at length appointed general of the Athenians by the choice of the people.

And first, while the generals were yet in the city, they despatched a herald to Sparta, one Phidippides, an Athenian, a courier by profession, who arrived in Sparta on the following day after his departure from the city of the Athenians, and on coming in presence of the magistrates, said: "Lacedæmonians, the Athenians entreat you to assist them, and not to suffer the most ancient city among the Greeks to fall into bondage to barbarians; for Eretria is already reduced to slavery, and Greece has become weaker by the loss of a renowned city." He delivered the message according to his instructions, and they resolved to assist the Athenians; but it was out of their power to do so immediately, as they were unwilling to violate the law; for it was the ninth day of the current month; and they said they could not march out until the moon's circle should be full.

Meanwhile the traitor Hippias, son of Pisistratus, had guided the barbarians to Marathon. He first of all landed the slaves from Eretria on the island of

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the Styreans, called Ægilia; and next he moored the ships as they came to Marathon, and drew up the barbarians as they disembarked on land. But as he was busied in doing this, it happened that he sneezed and coughed more violently then he was accustomed; and as he was far advanced in years, several of his teeth were loose, so that through the violence of his cough he threw out one of these teeth. It fell on the sand, and he used every endeavor to find it; but when the tooth could nowhere be found, he drew a deep sigh, and said to the bystanders; "This country is not ours, nor shall we be able to subdue it; whatever share belongeth to me, my tooth possesses."

When the Athenians were drawn up in a place sacred to Hercules, the Platæans came to their assistance with all their forces. For the Platæans had given themselves up to the Athenians, as the Athenians had already undergone many toils on their account.

The opinions of the Athenian generals were divided; one party not consenting to engage, "because they were too few to engage with the army of the Medes; and the others, among whom was Miltiades, urging them to give battle. There was an eleventh voter who was appointed minister of war among the Athenians, who had an equal vote with the generals, and at that time Callimachus of Aphidnæ was minister of war. To him Miltiades came, and spoke as follows: "It now depends on you, Callimachus, either

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to enslave Athens, or, by preserving its liberty, to leave a memorial of yourself to every age, such as not even Harmodius and Aristogeiton have left. For the Athenians were never in so great danger from the time they were first a people. If they succumb to the Medes, it has been determined what they are to suffer when delivered up to Hippias; but if the city survives, it will become the first of the Greek cities. How, then, this can be brought to pass, and how the power of deciding the matter depends on you, I will now proceed to explain. The opinions of us generals, who are ten, are equally divided; the one party urging that we should engage, the other that we should not. Now if we do not engage, I expect that some great dissension arising amongst us will shake the minds of the Athenians so as to induce them to a compliance with the Medes. But if we engage before any dastardly thought arises in the minds of some of the Athenians, if the gods are impartial, we shall be able to get the better in the engagement. All these things now entirely depend on you. For if you will support my opinion, your country will be free, and the city the first in Greece; but if you join with those who would dissuade us from an engagement, the contrary of the advantages I have enumerated will fall to your lot." Miltiades, by these words, gained over Callimachus, and it was determined to engage. Afterward, the generals whose opinions had been given to engage, as the command

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for the day devolved upon each of them, gave it up to Miltiades; but, though he accepted it, he would not come to an engagement before his own turn to command came.

The war minister, Callimachus, commanded the right wing, for the law at that time was so settled among the Athenians; the Platæans were drawn out last of all, occupying the left wing. Now, ever since that battle, when the Athenians offer sacrifices and celebrate the public festivals which take place every five years, the Athenian herald prays, saying: "May blessings attend both the Athenians and the Platæans." Their line was equal in extent to the Medic line, but the middle of it was but few deep, and there the line was weakest, while each wing was strong in numbers. When they were drawn up, and the victims were favorable, the Athenians, at the order to charge, advanced against the barbarians in double-quick time; and the space between them was not less than eight stades. The Persians, seeing them charging at full speed, prepared to receive them, laughing at their madness when they saw that they were so few in number, and that they rushed on at full speed without cavalry or archers. The Athenians, however, when they engaged in close ranks with the barbarians, fought in a manner worthy of record. For they, the first of all the Greeks whom we know of, charged the enemy at full speed, and first endured the sight of the Medic garb and the

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men that wore it; for until that time the very name of the Medes was a terror to the Greeks. The battle at Marathon lasted a long time: and in the middle of the line, where the Persians themselves and the Sacæ were arrayed, the barbarians were victorious, and, having broken the line, pursued to the interior; but in both wings the Athenians and the Platæans were victorious. Here they allowed the defeated portion of the barbarians to flee; and having united both wings, they fought with those who had broken their centre until at last the Athenians were victorious. They followed the Persians in their flight, cutting them to pieces, till, reaching the shore, they called for fire and attacked the ships.

In this battle, the brave war minister, Callimachus, was killed, and among the generals, Stesilaus, son of Thrasylas, perished; Cynægeirus, son of Euphorion, laid hold of a ship's stern and had his hand severed by an axe and fell; and, besides, many other distinguished Athenians were slain. In this manner, the Athenians made themselves masters of seven ships; but with the rest the barbarians rowed rapidly back, and, after taking off the Eretrian slaves from the island in which they had left them, sailed round Sunium, wishing to anticipate the Athenians in reaching the city. But the Athenians marched with all speed to the assistance of the city, and reached it before the barbarians arrived; and as they had come from the precinct of Hercules at Marathon, they

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took up their station in another precinct of Hercules at Cynosarges. The barbarians, having laid to with their fleet off Phalerum for a time, soon sailed away for Asia. In this battle at Marathon there died of the barbarians about six thousand four hundred men; and of the Athenians, one hundred and ninety-two. An Athenian, Epizelus, son of Cuphagoras, while fighting in the medley, and behaving valiantly, was deprived of sight, though wounded in no part of his body, nor struck from a distance; and he continued to be blind from that time for the remainder of his life. I have heard that he used to give the following account of his loss. He thought that a large heavy-armed man stood before him, whose beard shaded the whole of his shield; that this spectre passed by him, and killed the man that stood by his side, smiting him with this loss as it passed.

King Darius, before the Eretrians were made captive, harbored a deep resentment against them, as the Eretrians had been the first to begin acts of injustice; but when he saw them brought into his presence, and subject to his power, he did them no other harm, but settled them in the Cissian territory at a station of his own, the name of which is Ardericca; it is two hundred and ten stades distant from Susa, and forty from the well which produces three different substances: for asphalt, salt, and oil are drawn up from it in the following manner: It is pumped up by means of a swipe, and, instead of a

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bucket, half of a wine-skin is attached to it; having dipped down with this, a man draws it up, and then pours the contents into a receiver; and being poured from this into another, it assumes three different forms: the asphalt and the salt immediately become solid; but the oil they collect, and the Persians call it rhadinace; it is black, and emits a strong odor. Here King Darius settled the Eretrians; who, even to my time, occupied this territory, retaining their ancient language. Two thousand of the Lacedæmonians came to Athens after the full moon, making such haste to be in time, that they arrived in Attica on the third day after leaving Sparta. Too late for the battle, they, nevertheless, proceeded to Marathon, saw the slain, commended the Athenians and their achievement, and returned home.

After the defeat of the Persians at Marathon, Miltiades asked of the Athenians seventy ships, and troops, and money, without telling them what country he purposed to invade, but saying that he would make them rich if they would follow him, for he would take them to a country from which they would easily bring an abundance of gold, and the Athenians, elated by these hopes, granted the ships. Miltiades accordingly took the troops and sailed against Paros, alleging as a pretext, that the Parians had first begun hostilities by sending a trireme with the Persians to Marathon. But his real reason was that he had a grudge against the Parians on account

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of Lysagoras, son of Tisias, who was a Parian by birth, and who had calumniated him to Hydarnes the Persian. Miltiades arrived with his forces and besieged the Parians, who were driven within their walls; and sent a herald to them to demand a hundred talents, saying that if they did not furnish him that sum, he would not draw off his army until he had destroyed them. The Parians never entertained the thought of giving Miltiades any money; but devised means by which they might defend the city; and in several parts where the wall was most exposed to attack, they raised it, during the night, to double its former height. Up to this point of the story all the Greeks agree; but after this the Parians themselves say that it happened as follows. That when Miltiades was in a state of perplexity, a captive woman, by birth a Parian, and named Timo, conferred with him; she was an inferior priestess of the infernal goddesses. When she came into the presence of Miltiades, she advised him, if he deemed it of great consequence to take Paros, to act as she should suggest. Following out her suggestions he came to the mound before the city and leaped over the fence of Ceres Thesmophora, as he was unable to open the door; and went to the temple, for the purpose either to move some of the things that may not be moved, or to do something or other, I know not what. He was just at the door, when suddenly a thrill of horror came over him, and he went back

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by the same way: and in leaping over the fence his thigh was dislocated, or his knee was hurt. Miltiades, in a bad plight, sailed back home, neither bringing money to the Athenians, nor having reduced Paros, but having besieged it for six and twenty days, and ravaged the island. When the Parians were informed that Timo, the priestess of the goddesses, had directed Miltiades, they desired to punish her, and sent deputies to the oracle at Delphi, as soon as they were relieved from the siege, to inquire whether they should put to death the priestess of the goddesses, for having made known to the enemy the means of capturing the country, and for having discovered to Miltiades sacred things, which ought not to be revealed to the male sex. But the Pythian did not allow them, but said, "that Timo was not to blame for this, but that it was fated Miltiades should come to a miserable end, and she had appeared to him as a guide to misfortune." When Miltiades returned from Paros, the Athenians were loud in their complaints against him, especially Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, who brought a capital charge against Miltiades before the people, and prosecuted him for deception. Miltiades, though present in person, made no defence, through inability, as his thigh had begun to mortify. But while he lay on a couch, his friends made a defence for him, dwelling much on the battle that had been fought at Marathon, and on the capture of Lemnos: since he had

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taken Lemnos, and inflicted vengeance on tne Pelasgians, and had given it up to the Athenians. The people so far favored him as to acquit him of the capital offence, but fined him fifty talents for the injury he had done. Miltiades soon after ended his life by the mortification of his thigh, and his son Cimon paid the fifty talents.

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POLYMNIA.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DEATH OF DARIUS AND REIGN OF XERXES.

When the news of the battle fought at Marathon reached Darius, who was before much exasperated with the Athenians on account of the attack upon Sardis, he grew still more eager to prosecute the war against Greece. He therefore immediately sent messengers to the several cities, and bade them prepare an army much greater than they had furnished before, and ships, horses, corn, and transports. Asia was thrown into agitation during the space of three years, the bravest men being enrolled and prepared for the purpose of invading Greece. In the fourth year the Egyptians, who had been subdued by Cambyses, revolted from the Persians; whereupon Darius only became the more eager to march against both. Just then a violent dissension arose between the sons of Darius concerning the sovereignty; for by the cus-

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toms of the Persians he was obliged to nominate his successor before he marched out on any expedition. Before Darius became king, he had three sons born to him by his former wife, the daughter of Gobryas; and, after his accession to the throne, four others by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus. Of the former, Artabazanes was the eldest; of those born after, Xerxes: and these two, not being of the same mother, were at variance. Artabazanes urged that he was the eldest of all the sons, and that it was the established usage among all men that the eldest son should succeed to the sovereignty: on the other hand, Xerxes alleged that he was son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and that it was Cyrus who had acquired freedom for the Persians. At this very juncture, when Darius had not yet declared his opinion, Demaratus, son of Ariston, happened to come up to Susa, deprived of his kingly office at Sparta, and having imposed on himself a voluntary exile from Lacedæmon. This man went to Xerxes, as report has it, and advised him to say in addition to what he had already said, that "he was born after his father Darius had become king, and was possessed of the empire of the Persians; whereas Artabazanes was born while he was yet a private person; wherefore it was not reasonable or just that any other should possess that dignity in preference to himself. "Since in Sparta also," Demaratus continued to suggest, "this custom prevailed, that if some children were

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born before their father became king, and one was born subsequently, when he had come to the throne, this last-born son should succeed to the kingdom." Darius acknowledged this point, and declared Xerxes king. But it appears to me that even without this suggestion Xerxes would have been made king, for Atossa had unbounded influence. So Darius appointed Xerxes to be king over the Persians, and prepared to march. But just at this juncture, and in the year after the revolt of Egypt, Darius himself, while making preparations, died, having reigned thirty-six years in all; nor was he able to avenge himself either on the Egyptians, who had revolted, or on the Athenians; and when Darius was dead, the kingdom devolved on his son Xerxes.

Xerxes was at first by no means inclined to make war against Greece, but he levied forces for the reduction of Egypt. Mardonius, son of Gobryas, who was cousin to Xerxes, and son of Darius' sister, and who had the greatest influence with him of all the Persians, constantly held the following language: "Sire, it is not right that the Athenians, who have already done so much mischief to the Persians, should go unpunished? However, for the present, finish the enterprise you have in hand; and when you have quelled the insolence of Egypt, lead your army against Athens; that you may acquire a good reputation among men, and any one for the future may be cautious of marching against your territory."

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This language was used by him for the purpose of revenge, but he frequently made the following addition to it, that "Europe was a very beautiful country, and produced all kinds of cultivated trees,—and was very fertile, and worthy to be possessed by the king alone of all mortals." Mardonius was desirous of new enterprises, and wished to be himself governor of Greece, and in time he persuaded Xerxes to do as he advised. Xerxes, in the second year after the death of Darius, reduced all Egypt to a worse state of servitude than ever under Darius, and committed the government to Achæmenes, his brother.

He then convoked an assembly of the principal Persians, that he might hear their opinions, and make known his intentions to them all. "Men of Persia," said Xerxes, "I learn from older men that we have never remained inactive since we wrested the sovereign power from the Medes, and Cyrus overthrew Astyages; but the deity has led the way, and we have followed his guidance to our advantage. What deeds Cyrus and Cambyses and my father Darius have achieved, and what nations they have added to our empire, no one need mention to you who know them well. But since I have succeeded to the throne, I have carefully considered how I may not fall short of my predecessors in honor, nor acquire less additional power to the Persians.

"I have now called you together, that I may communicate to you what I purpose to do. I intend to

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throw a bridge over the Hellespont, and to march an army through Europe against Greece, that I may punish the Athenians for the injuries they have done to the Persians and to my father. You have already seen Darius preparing to make war against those people; but he died, and had it not in his power to avenge himself. But I, in his cause and that of the other Persians, will not rest till I have taken and burnt Athens; for they began by doing acts of injustice against my father and me. First they came to Sardis, with Aristagoras the Milesian, our servant, and burnt down the groves and the temples. You all know well enough how they treated us on our making a descent on their territory, when Datis and Artaphernes led our forces. For these reasons, therefore, I have resolved to make war upon them. And I am sure that if we subdue them, and their neighbors, who inhabit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, we shall make the Persian territory co-extensive with the air of heaven, for the sun will not look down upon any land that borders on ours. When I shall have informed you of the time, it will be the duty of each of you to come promptly. And whosoever shall appear with the best-appointed troops, to him I will give such presents as are accounted most honorable in our country."

After this, when Xerxes had resolved to undertake the expedition, a vision appeared to him in his sleep, which the magi interpreted to signify that all

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mankind should serve him. Xerxes imagined that he was crowned with the sprig of an olive tree, whose branches covered the whole earth; and that afterward the crown that was placed on his head disappeared. After the magi had given this interpretation, all the Persians who were assembled departed immediately to their own governments, and used all diligence to execute what had been ordered, every man hoping to obtain the proposed reward; Xerxes thus levied his army, searching out every region of the continent. He was employed four whole years in assembling his forces and providing things necessary for the expedition. In the fifth he began his march with a vast multitude of men. For this was by far the greatest of all the expeditions with which we are acquainted. What nation did not Xerxes lead out of Asia against Greece? what stream, except that of great rivers, did not his army drink dry? Some supplied ships; others were ordered to furnish men for the infantry, others cavalry, some transports for horses, together with men to serve in the army; others had to furnish long ships for the bridges, and others provisions and vessels.

And first of all, as those who had first attempted to double Mount Athos had met with disaster, preparations were made for nearly three years to cut Athos off by a canal. Triremes were stationed at Eleus in the Chersonese, and from there men of every nation from the army dug under the lash. They went in

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succession; and the people who dwelt around Athos dug also. Bubares, son of Megabazus, and Artachæus, son of Artæus, both Persians, presided over the work. Athos is a vast and celebrated mountain, stretching into the sea, and inhabited by men. Where the mountain terminates toward the continent, it is in the form of a peninsula connected with the continent by an isthmus of about twelve stades; this is a plain with hills of no great height from the sea of the Acanthians to the sea which is opposite Torone. On this isthmus stands Sana, a Grecian city; and on Athos itself are the cities of Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssus, and Cleonæ. To make the excavation the barbarians divided the ground among the several nations, having drawn a straight line near the city of Sana. When the trench was deep, some stood at the bottom and continued to dig, and others handed the soil that was dug out to men who stood above on ladders; they again in turn handed it to others, until they reached those that were at the top; the last carried it off and threw it away. In the case of all, except the Phœnicians, the brink of the excavation fell in and gave double labor, for as they made the upper and the lower opening of equal dimensions, this must necessarily happen. But the Phœnicians, who show their skill in other works, did so especially in this; for they dug the portion that fell to their share, making the upper opening of the trench twice as large as

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it was necessary for the trench itself to be; and as the work proceeded, they contracted it gradually, so that when they came to the bottom the work was equal in width to the rest; near adjoining is a meadow, where they had a market and bazaar, and great abundance of meal was brought to them from Asia. According to my deliberate opinion, Xerxes ordered this excavation to be made from motives of ostentation, wishing to display his power, and to leave a memorial of himself. For though it was possible, without any great labor, to have drawn the ships over the isthmus, he commanded them to dig a channel for the sea of such a width that two triremes might pass through, rowed abreast. And the same persons to whom the excavation was committed were ordered also to throw a bridge over the river Strymon. He also caused cables of papyrus and of white flax to be prepared for the bridges, and ordered the Phœnicians and Egyptians to lay up provisions for the army, that neither the men nor the beasts of burden might suffer from famine on their march toward Greece, conveying them to various quarters in merchant-ships and transports from all parts of Asia.

While these men were employed in their appointed task, the whole land forces marched with Xerxes to Sardis, setting out from Critalla, in Cappadocia, where it had been ordered that all the troops throughout the continent should assemble. They crossed the river Halys, entered Phrygia, and ar-

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rived at Celænæ, where rise the springs of the Mæander, and of another river not less than the Mæander, which is called the Catarractes, which, springing up in the very forum of the Celænians, discharges itself into the Mæander. In this city the skin of Silenus Marsyas is suspended, which, as the Phrygians report, was stripped off and suspended by Apollo. In this city Pythius, son of Atys, a Lydian, being in waiting, entertained the whole army of the king, and Xerxes himself, with most sumptuous feasts, and he offered to contribute money toward the expense of the war. Xerxes asked the Persians near him who this Pythius was, and what riches he possessed, that he made such an offer. They answered: "O king, this is the person who presented your father Darius with the golden plane-tree and the vine, and he is now the richest man we know of in the world, next to yourself." Xerxes, in surprise, next asked Pythius what was the amount of his wealth. He said: "O king, as soon as I heard you were coming down to the Grecian sea, wishing to present you with money for the war, I made inquiry, and found by computation that I had two thousand talents of silver, and of gold four millions of Doric staters, lacking seven thousand. These I freely give you; for myself I have sufficient subsistence from my slaves and lands." Xerxes, delighted with his offer, replied: "My Lydian friend, since I left the Persian country I have met with no man to the present

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moment who was willing to entertain my army, or who, having come into my presence, has voluntarily offered to contribute money toward the war. But you have entertained my army magnificently, and have offered me vast sums. In return for this, I make you my friend. Keep what you have acquired, and I will myself make up to you the seven thousand staters which you lack of four millions. Be careful always to continue such as you are, and you shall never repent hereafter."

From Phrygia he entered Lydia, crossed the river Mæander, and passed by the city of Callatebus, in which confectioners make honey with tamarisk and wheat. Xerxes, by the way, met with a plane-tree, which, on account of its beauty, he presented with golden ornaments, and having committed it to the care of one of the Immortals,[1] on the next day he arrived at Sardis, the capital of the Lydians.

In the meanwhile those who were appointed had joined the Hellespont from Asia to Europe. There is in the Chersonese on the Hellespont, between the city of Sestos and Madytus, a craggy shore extending into the sea, directly opposite Abydos. From this shore to Abydos they had constructed two bridges, the Phœnicians one with white flax, and the Egyptians the other with papyrus. The distance is seven stades. When the strait was thus united, a

[1] One of the ten thousand men called Immortals, of whom we shall hear more hereafter.

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violent storm arose and broke in pieces and scattered the whole work. When Xerxes heard of this, exceedingly indignant, he commanded that the Hellespont should be stricken with three hundred lashes with a scourge, and that a pair of fetters should be let down into the sea. I have, moreover, heard that with them he likewise sent branding instruments to brand the Hellespont. He certainly charged those who flogged the waters to utter these barbarous and impious words: "Thou bitter water! thy master inflicts this punishment upon thee because thou hast injured him, although thou hadst not suffered any harm from him. And king Xerxes will cross over thee, whether thou wilt or not; it is with justice that no man sacrifices to to thee, because thou art both a deceitful and briny river!" He accordingly commanded them to chastise the sea in this manner, and to cut off the heads of those who had to superintend the joining of the Hellespont. They on whom this thankless office was imposed carried it into execution, and other engineers constructed bridges in the following manner: They connected together penteconters and triremes under the bridge toward the Euxine sea, three hundred and sixty; and under the other, three hundred and fourteen, obliquely to the Pontus, but in the direction of the current of the Hellespont, that it might keep up the tension of the cables. They then let down very long anchors, some on the bridge toward the Pontus, on account of the winds that blew from it within;

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others on the other bridge toward the west and the Ægean, on account of the south and southeast winds. They left an opening as a passage through between the penteconters in three places, that any one who wished might be able to sail into the Pontus in light vessels, and from the Pontus outward. Having done this, they stretched the cables from the shore, twisting them with wooden capstans, not as before, — using the two kinds separately, — but assigning to each two of white flax and four of papyrus. The thickness and quality was the same, but those of flax were stronger in proportion, every cubit weighing a full talent. When the passage was bridged over, they sawed up trunks of trees equal in length to the width of the bridge, and laid them upon the extended cables in regular order, fastening them securely together. They put brush-wood on the top, and earth over the whole; and having pressed down the earth, they drew a fence on each side, that the beasts of burden and horses might not be frightened by looking down upon the sea.

At last the works at the bridges and Mount Athos were completed, as well as the mounds at the mouths of the canal which had been made on account of the tide, in order that the mouths of the trench might not be choked up. News was brought that all was ready, and the army, fresh from their winter at Sardis, set out fully prepared, at the beginning of the spring, toward Abydos. But just as they were on the point

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of starting, the sun quit his seat in the heavens and disappeared, though there were no clouds, and the air was perfectly serene, and night ensued in the place of day. This occasioned Xerxes much uneasiness; but the magi said, "The deity foreshows to the Greeks the extinction of their cities; the sun is the portender of the future to the Greeks, and the moon to the Persians." Xerxes, at this, was much delighted, and set out upon his march. As he was leading his army away, Pythius, the Lydian, terrified by the prodigy in the heavens, and emboldened by the gifts of Xerxes, went to the king and spoke thus: "Sire, would you indulge me by granting a boon I wish to obtain, which is easy for you to grant, and of much importance to me." Xerxes, expecting that he would wish for any thing rather than what he did ask, said that he would grant his request, and bade him declare what he wanted. "Sire," said he, "I have five sons; and it happens that they are all attending you in the expedition against Greece. But pity me, O king, who am advanced in years, and release one of my sons from the service, that he may take care of me and my property. Take the other four with you, accomplish your designs, and return home." Xerxes was highly incensed, and answered: "Base man! hast thou dared, when I am marching in person against Greece, and taking with me my children, and brothers, and kinsmen, and friends, to make mention

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of thy son? thou who art my slave, and who wert bound in duty to follow me with all thy family, even with thy wife. But I promise to grant your request; I will leave your dearest son." When he had given this answer, he immediately commanded to find out the eldest of the sons of Pythius, and to cut his body into two halves, and to stand one on the right of the road, and the other on the left, while the army should pass between them.

This done, the army passed between. The baggage-bearers and beasts of burden first led the way; after them came a host of all nations. When more than one half of the army had passed, an interval was left that they might not mix with the king's troops. Before him a thousand horsemen led the van, chosen from among all the Persians; and next to them a thousand spearmen, these also chosen from among all, carrying their lances turned downwards to the earth. After these, ten immense sacred horses, gorgeously caparisoned, called Nisæan, from the plain in the Medic territory which produces them; then came the sacred chariot of Jupiter, drawn by eight white horses, followed by a charioteer on foot, holding the reins, for no mortal ever ascends this seat. Behind this came Xerxes himself on a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses; and a charioteer walked at his side, whose name was Patiramphes. In this manner Xerxes marched out of Sardis, and whenever he thought right, he used to pass from the chariot to a

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covered carriage. Behind him marched a thousand spearmen, the bravest and noblest of the Persians, carrying their spears in the usual manner; and after them another body of a thousand horse, chosen from among the Persians; then ten thousand chosen Persian infantry. Of these, one thousand had golden pomegranates on their spears instead of ferrules, and they enclosed the others all round; the nine thousand within had silver pomegranates. Those also that carried their spears turned to the earth had golden pomegranates, and those that followed nearest to Xerxes had golden apples. Behind the ten thousand foot were placed ten thousand Persian cavalry; and after the cavalry was left an interval of two stades; then the rest of the throng followed promiscuously.

Once, when the army halted during the night under Mount Ida, thunder and lightning fell upon them, and destroyed a considerable number of the troops on the spot. At the Scamander, the first river on their march from Sardis, the stream failed and did not afford sufficient drink for the army and beasts of burden. Here Xerxes went up to the Pergamus, or citadel of Priam, and sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Ilian Minerva, and the magi poured out libations in honor of the heroes of the Trojan War. At Abydos, Xerxes wished to behold the whole army. And there had been previously erected on a hill at this place, for his use, a lofty throne of white marble;

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the people of Abydos had made it in obedience to an order of the king. Seated there, he beheld both the land army and the fleet; he desired also to see a contest take place between the ships, in which the Sidonian Phœnicians were victorious. Exceedingly gratified he was, both with the contest and the army. But while he was viewing the whole Hellespont covered by the ships, and all the shores and the plains of Abydos full of men, he suddenly burst into tears. Artabanus, his paternal uncle, observed him and exclaimed: "O king, a moment ago you pronounced yourself happy, but now you weep!" "Alas!" he answered: "Commiseration seized me, when I considered how brief all human life is, since of these, numerous as they are, not one will be alive in a hundred years!"

That day they made preparations for the passage over; and on the following, they waited for the sun, as they wished to see it rising; in the mean time burning all sorts of perfumes on the bridges, and strewing the road with myrtle branches. When the sun rose, Xerxes poured a libation into the sea out of a golden cup, and offered up a prayer to the sun, that no such accident might befall him as would prevent him from subduing Europe, until he had reached its utmost limits. After the prayer, he threw the cup into the Hellespont, and a golden bowl, and a Persian sword, which they call acinace. But I cannot determine with certainty whether he dropped these

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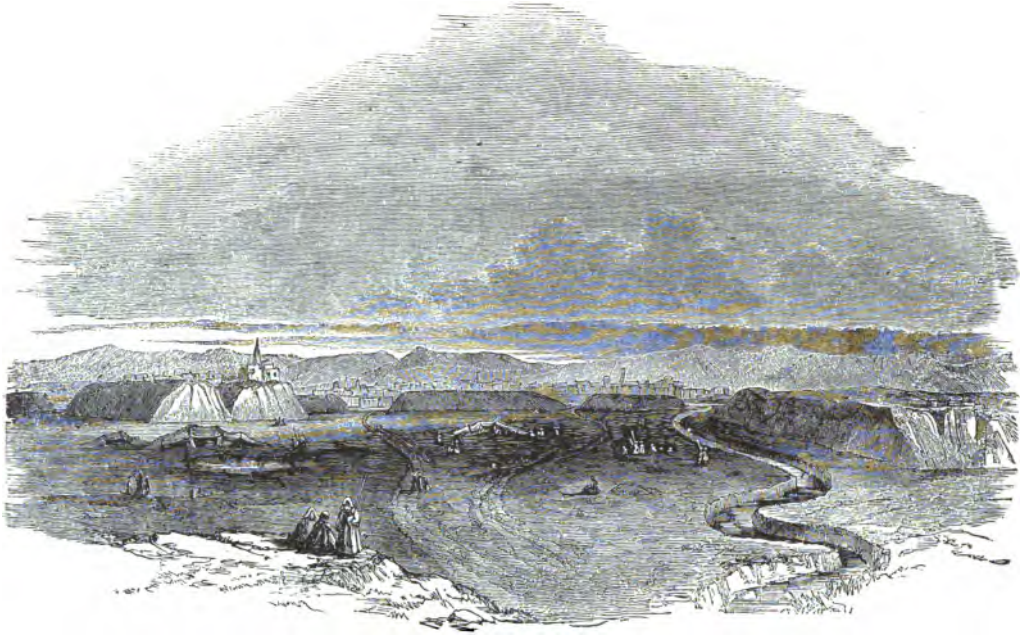

THE TOMB OF JONAH.

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things into the sea as an offering to the sun, or whether he repented of having scourged the Hellespont, and presented these gifts to the sea as a compensation. These ceremonies finished, the infantry and all the cavalry crossed over by that bridge which was toward the Pontus; and the beasts of burden and the attendants by that toward the Ægean. I have heard that Xerxes crossed over last of all. In seven days and seven nights, without a halt, his army crossed. On this occasion, it is related, that when Xerxes had crossed over the Hellespont, a certain Hellespontine said: "O Jupiter! why, assuming the form of a Persian, and taking the name of Xerxes, do you wish to subvert Greece, bringing all mankind with you, since without them it was in your power to do this?"

Doriscus is a shore and extensive plain of Thrace. Through it flows a large river, the Hebrus. A royal fort had been built, and a Persian garrison had been established in it by Darius, from the time that he marched against the Scythians. At Doriscus Xerxes numbered his army. The whole land forces were found to be seventeen hundred thousand. They were computed in this manner: having drawn together ten thousand men in one place, and crowded them as close together as it was possible, they traced a circle on the outside; removed the ten thousand, threw up a stone fence on the circle a yard high, and made others enter within the enclosed space, until they had in this manner computed all.

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The Persians were equipped as follows: On their heads they wore loose coverings, called tiaras; on the body various-colored sleeved breastplates, with iron scales like those of fish; and on their legs, loose trousers; instead of shields they had bucklers made of osiers; and under them their quivers were hung. They had short spears, long bows, and arrows made of cane, besides daggers suspended from the girdle on the right thigh. They had for their general, Otanes, father of Amestris, wife of Xerxes. They were formerly called Cephenes by the Grecians, but by themselves and neighbors, Artæans. But when Perseus, son of Danae and Jupiter, came to Cepheus, son of Belus, and married his daughter Andromeda, he had a son to whom he gave the name of Perses; and from him they derived their appellation. The Medes marched equipped in the same manner as the Persians; for the above is a Medic and not a Persian costume. The Medes had for their general, Tigranes, of the family of the Achæmenidæ: they were formerly called Arians by all nations; but when Medea of Colchis came from Athens to these Arians, they also changed their names. The Assyrians who served in the army had helmets of bronze, twisted in a barbarous fashion, not easy to describe; and shields and spears, and daggers similar to those of the Egyptians, besides wooden clubs knotted with iron, and linen cuirasses. By the Greeks they were called Syrians, but by the barbarians, Assyrians. Among them were the Chal-

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deans; and Otaspes, son of Artachæus, commanded them. The Bactrians had turbans on their heads, very much like those of the Medes, and bows made of cane peculiar to their country, and short spears. The Sacæ, who are Scythians, had on their heads caps, which came to a point and stood erect: they also wore loose trousers, and carried bows peculiar to their country, and daggers, and also battle-axes, called sagares. The Indians, clad with garments made of cotton, had bows of cane, and arrows of cane tipped with iron.

The Arabians wore cloaks fastened by a girdle; and carried on their right sides long bows which bent backward. The Ethiopians were clothed in panthers' and lions' skins, and carried long bows, not less than four cubits in length, made from branches of the palm-tree; and on them they placed short arrows made of cane, instead of iron, tipped with a stone, which was made sharp, and of the sort on which they engrave seals. Besides, they had javelins, and at the tip was an antelope's horn, made sharp, like a lance; they had also knotted clubs. When they were going to battle, they smeared one half of their body with chalk, and the other half with red ochre. The Arabians and Ethiopians who dwell above Egypt were commanded by Arsames, son of Darius and Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius loved more than all his wives, and whose image he had made of beaten gold. The Ethiopians from the sun-rise (for

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two kinds served in the expedition) were marshalled with the Indians, and did not at all differ from the others in appearance except in their language and their hair. For the eastern Ethiopians are straight-haired; but those of Libya have hair more curly than that of any other people. These Ethiopians from Asia were accoutred almost the same as the Indians; but they wore on their heads skins of horses' heads, as masks, stripped off with the ears and mane; and the mane served instead of a crest, and the horses' ears were fixed erect; and as defensive armor, they used the skins of cranes instead of shields. The Libyans marched, clad in leathern garments, and made use of javelins hardened by fire. They had for their general, Massages, son of Oarizus. The Paphlagonians joined the expedition, wearing on their heads plated helmets, and carried small shields, and not large spears, besides javelins and daggers; and on their feet they wore boots, peculiar to their country, reaching up to the middle of the leg. The Thracians wore fox-skins on their heads, and tunics around their bodies, and over them they were clothed with various-colored cloaks, and on their feet and legs they had buskins of fawn-skin, and carried javelins, light bucklers, and small daggers. These people, having crossed over into Asia, were called Bithynians, but formerly, as they themselves say, were called Strymonians, as they dwelt on the river Strymon.

These, with very many others, were the nations

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that marched on the continent and composed the infantry. Over these and the whole infantry was appointed as general Mardonius, son of Gobryas. But of the ten thousand chosen Persians, Hydarnes was general. These Persians were called Immortal, for the following reason: If any one of them made a deficiency in the number, compelled either by death or disease, another was ready chosen to supply his place; so that they were never either more or less than ten thousand. The Persians displayed the greatest splendor of all, and were also the bravest; their equipment was such as has been described; but besides this, they were conspicuous from having a great profusion of gold. They also brought with them covered chariots and a numerous and well-equipped train of attendants. Camels and other beasts of burden conveyed their provisions, apart from that of the rest of the soldiers.

All these nations have cavalry; they did not, however, all furnish horse, but only the following. First, the Persians, equipped in the same manner as their infantry, except that on their heads some of them wore bronze and wrought-steel ornaments. There is a certain nomadic race, called Sagartians, of Persian extraction and language, who wear a dress fashioned between the Persian and the Pactyan fashion; they furnished eight thousand horse, but they are not accustomed to carry arms either of bronze or iron, except daggers: they use lassos made of twisted

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BRIDGE OVER THE GORTYNIUS.

thongs. The mode of fighting of these men is as follows: When they engage with the enemy they throw out the ropes, which have nooses at the end,

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and whatever any one catches, whether horse or man, he drags toward himself; and they that are entangled in the coils are put to death. The Arabians had the same dress as their infantry, but all rode camels not inferior to horses in speed. The number of the horse amounted to eighty thousand, besides the camels and chariots. All the rest of the cavalry were marshalled in troops; but the Arabians were stationed in the rear, as horses cannot endure camels. Armamithres and Tithæus, sons of Datis, were generals of the cavalry. Their third colleague in command, Pharnuches, had been left at Sardis sick. For as they were setting out from Sardis he met with a sad accident. When he was mounted, a dog ran under the legs of his horse, and the horse, frightened, reared and threw Pharnuches, who vomited blood, and the disease turned to a consumption. With respect to the horse, his servants immediately led him to the place where he had thrown his master, and cut off his legs at the knees.

The number of the triremes amounted to twelve hundred and seven.

Persians, Medes, and Sacæ served as marines on board all the ships. Of these the Phœnicians furnished the best sailing ships, and of the Phœnicians the Sidonians. The admirals of the navy were: Ariabignes, son of Darius; Prexaspes, son of Aspathines; Megabazus son of Megabates; and Achæmenes, son of Darius. Of the other captains I make no mention,

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as I deem it unnecessary, except of Artemisia, whom I most admire, as having, though a woman, joined this expedition against Greece. Her husband was dead, but, holding the sovereignty while her son was under age, she joined the expedition from a feeling of courage and manly spirit, though there was no necessity for her doing so. Her name was Artemisia, and she was the daughter of Lygdamis, by birth of Halicarnassus on her father's side, and on her mother's a Cretan. She commanded the Halicarnassians, the Coans, the Nisyrians, and the Calyndians, having contributed five ships : and of the whole fleet, next to the Sidonians, she furnished the most renowned ships, and of all the allies, gave the best advice to the king. The cities which I have mentioned as being under her command, I pronounce to be all of Doric origin ; the Halicarnassians being Trœzenians, and the rest Epidaurians.

When Xerxes had numbered his forces, and the army was drawn up, he desired to pass through and inspect them in person. Accordingly he drove through in a chariot, by each separate nation, made inquiries, and his secretaries wrote down the answers ; until he had gone from one extremity to the other, both of the horse and foot. When he had finished this, and the ships had been launched into the sea, Xerxes, in a Sidonian ship, under a gilded canopy, sailed by the prows of the ships, asking questions of each, as he had done with

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the land forces, and having the answers written down.

When Xerxes arrived at Therma, he ordered his army to halt. And seeing from Therma the Thessalonian mountains, Olympus and Ossa, which are of vast size, and having learnt that there was a narrow pass between them, through which the river Peneus runs, and hearing that at that spot there was a road leading to Thessaly, very much wished to sail and see the mouth of the Peneus. When Xerxes arrived, and beheld its mouth, he was struck with great astonishment. For several rivers, five of them greatly noted, the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus, meeting together in this plain from the mountains that enclose Thessaly, discharge themselves into the sea through one channel, and that a narrow one; but as soon as they have mingled together, from that spot the names of the other rivers merge in that of the Peneus.[1] The Thessalians say that Neptune made the pass through which the Peneus flows; and their story is probable. For whoever thinks that Neptune shakes the earth, and that rents occasioned by earthquakes are the works of this god, on seeing this, would say that Neptune formed it. For it appears evident to me, that the separation of these mountains is the effect of an earthquake.

1 Literally, "the river Peneus, gaining the victory as to the name, causes the others to be nameless."

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CHAPTER XXVII.

BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ.

When the Greeks arrived at the Isthmus they consulted in what way and in what places they should prosecute the war. The opinion which prevailed was that they should defend the pass at Thermopylæ; for it appeared to be narrower than that into Thessaly, and at the same time nearer to their own territories. On the western side of Thermopylæ is an inaccessible and precipitous mountain, stretching to Mount Œta; and on the eastern side of the way is the sea and a morass. In this passage there are hot baths, which the inhabitants call Chytri, and above these is an altar to Hercules. A wall had been built in this pass, and formerly there were gates in it. The Phocians built it through fear, when the Thessalians came from Thesprocia to settle in the Æolian territory which they now possess, apprehending that the Thessalians would attempt to subdue them; at the same time they diverted the hot water into the entrance, that the place might be broken into clefts;

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having recourse to every contrivance to prevent the Thessalians from making inroads into their country. Now this old wall had been built a long time, and the greater part of it had already fallen through age; but they determined to rebuild it, and in that place to repel the barbarian from Greece. Very near this road there is a village called Alpeni, from which they expected to obtain provisions.

The naval forces of Xerxes, setting out from the city of Therma, advanced with ten of the fastest sailing ships straight to Scyathus, where were three Greek ships keeping a look-out, a Trœzenian, an Æginetan, and an Athenian. These, seeing the ships of the barbarians at a distance, betook themselves to flight. The Trœzenian ship, which Praxinus commanded, the barbarians pursued and soon captured; and then, having led the handsomest of the marines to the prow of the ship, they slew him, deeming it a good omen that the first Greek they had taken was also very handsome. The name of the man that was slain was Leon, and perhaps he in some measure reaped the fruits of his name. The Æginetan ship, which Asonides commanded, gave them some trouble, Pytheas, son of Ischenous, being a marine on board, a man who on this day displayed the most consummate valor; who, when the ship was taken, continued fighting until he was almost cut to pieces. But when they found that he was not dead, but still breathed, the Persians who served on board

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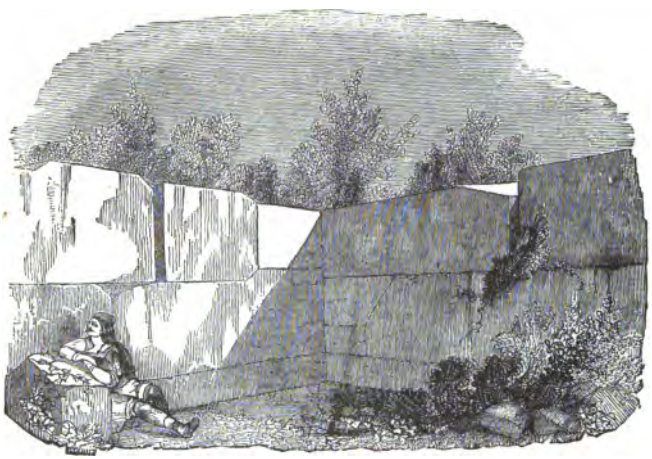
the ships were very anxious to save him alive, on account of his valor, healing his wounds with myrrh, and binding them with bandages of flaxen cloth. And when they returned to their own camp, they showed him with admiration to the whole army, and treated him well; but the others, whom they took in



CYCLOPEAN WALLS AT CEPHALLOMA.

this ship, they treated as slaves. Thus two of the ships were taken; but the third, which Phormus, an Athenian, commanded, in its flight ran ashore at the mouth of the Peneus; and the barbarians got possession of the ship, but not of the men: for, as soon as the Athenians had run the ship aground, they leaped out, and, proceeding through Thessaly, reached

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Athens. The Greeks who were stationed at Artemisium were informed of this event by signal-fires from Scyathus.

As far as Thermopylæ, the army of Xerxes had suffered no loss, and the numbers were at that time, as I find by calculation of those in ships from Asia, a total of five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten. Of infantry there were seventeen hundred thousand, and of cavalry eighty thousand; to these I add the Arabians who rode camels, and the Libyans who drove chariots, reckoning the number of twenty thousand men. Accordingly, the numbers on board the ships and on the land, added together, make up two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten, exclusive of the servants that followed, and the provision ships, and the men that were on board them. But the force brought from Europe must still be added to this whole number, of which I suppose that there were three hundred thousand men. So that these myriads added to those from Asia, make a total of two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men. I think that the servants who followed them, together with those on board the provision ships and other vessels that sailed with the fleet, were not fewer than the fighting men, probably more numerous; but supposing them to be equal in number with the fighting men, Xerxes, son of Darius, led five millions two hundred and

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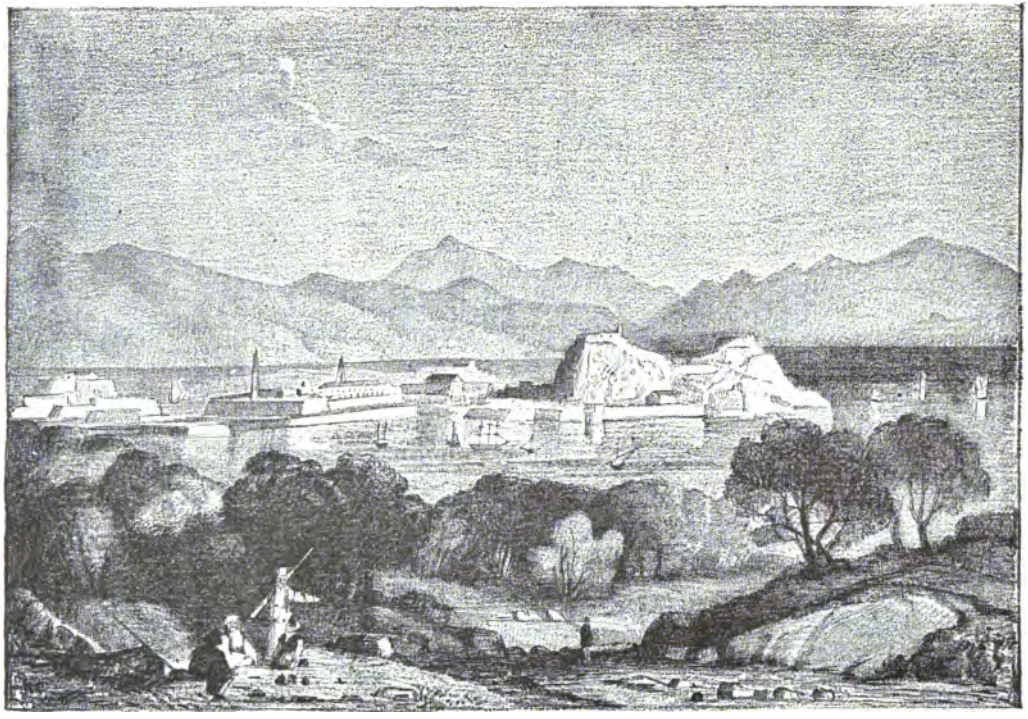

ISLAND AND CASTLE OF CORFU.

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eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men to Thermopylæ. This, then, was the number of the whole force of Xerxes. But the number of women who made bread, wives of officers, and servants, no one could mention with accuracy; nor of draught-cattle and other beasts of burden; nor of Indian dogs that followed. I am not astonished that the streams of some rivers failed; rather is it a wonder to me how the provisions held out for so many myriads. For I find by calculation, if each man had a chœnix of wheat daily, and no more, one hundred and ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni must have been consumed every day; and I have not reckoned the food for the women, beasts of burden, and dogs. But, of so many myriads of men, not one of them, for beauty and stature, was more entitled than Xerxes himself to possess this power.

The Greeks who awaited the Persians at Thermopylæ were: of Spartans three hundred heavy armed men; of Tegeans and Mantineans one thousand, half of each; from Orchomenus in Arcadia one hundred and twenty; and from the rest of Arcadia one thousand; from Corinth four hundred; from Phlius two hundred men, and from Mycenæ eighty. These came from Peloponnesus. From Bœotia, of Thespians seven hundred, and of Thebans four hundred. In addition to these, the Opuntian Locrians, being invited, came with all their forces, and a thousand Phocians. These nations had separate generals

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for their several cities; but the one most admired, and who commanded the whole army, was a Lacedæmonian, Leonidas, son of Anaxandrides, and a descendant of Hercules, who had unexpectedly succeeded to the throne of Sparta. For as he had two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he was far from any thought of the kingdom. However, Cleomenes and Dorieus both died, and the kingdom thus devolved upon Leonidas. He had chosen the three hundred men allowed by law, and marched to Thermopylæ.

When the Persian came near the pass, the Greeks, alarmed, consulted about a retreat, and it seemed best to the other Peloponnesians to retire to Peloponnesus, and guard the Isthmus; but Leonidas, perceiving the Phocians and Locrians very indignant at this proposition, determined to stay there, and to despatch messengers to the cities, desiring them to come to their assistance, as being too few to repel the army of the Medes. Meantime Xerxes sent a scout on horseback, to see how many they were, and what they were doing. For while he was still in Thessaly, he had heard that a small army had been assembled at that spot, whose leader was Leonidas, of the race of Hercules. When the horseman rode up to the camp, he reconnoitred, and saw not indeed the whole camp, for it was not possible that they should be seen who were posted within the wall, but he had a clear view of those on the outside, whose

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arms were piled in front of the wall. At this some of the Lacedæmonians were performing gymnastic exercises, and others combing their hair. On beholding this he was astonished, but having ascertained their number, he rode back at his leisure, for no one pursued him, and he met with general contempt. On his return he gave an account to Xerxes of all that he had seen, who could not comprehend the truth, that the Greeks were preparing to be slain and to slay to the utmost of their power.

Xerxes let five days pass, constantly expecting that they would betake themselves to flight. But on the fifth day, as they had not retreated, but appeared to him to stay through arrogance and rashness, in rage he sent the Medes and Cissians against them, with orders to take them alive, and bring them into his presence. When the Medes bore down impetuously upon the Greeks, many of them fell; others followed to the charge, and were not repulsed, though they suffered greatly. But they made it evident to every one, and not least of all to the king himself, that they were indeed many men, but few soldiers. The engagement lasted through the day. The Medes, roughly handled, retired; and the Persians whom the king called "Immortal," and whom Hydarnes commanded, took their place and advanced to the attack, thinking that they indeed should easily settle the business. But they succeeded no better than the Medic troops, but just the same, as they fought in a

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narrow space, and used shorter spears than the Greeks, and were unable to avail themselves of their numbers. The Lacedæmonians fought memorably, showing that they knew how to fight with men who knew not, and whenever they turned their backs, they retreated in close order; but the barbarians seeing them retreat, followed with a shout and clamor; then they, being overtaken, wheeled round so as to front the barbarians and overthrew an inconceivable number of the Persians; and then some few of the Spartans themselves fell. So that when the Persians were unable to gain any thing in their attempt on the pass, by attacking in troops and in every possible manner, they retired. It is said that during these onsets of the battle, the king, who witnessed them, thrice sprang from his throne, being alarmed for his army. On the following day the barbarians fought with no better success; for considering that the Greeks were few in number, and expecting that they were covered with wounds, and would not be able to raise their heads against them any more, they renewed the contest. But the Greeks were marshalled in companies and according to their several nations, and each fought in turn, except the Phocians, who were stationed at the mountain to guard the pathway. Again the Persians failed and retired.

While the king was in doubt what course to take, Ephialtes, son of Eurydemus, a Malian, obtained an audience of him, expecting that he should receive a

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great reward from the king, and informed him of the path which leads over the mountain to Thermopylæ; and by that means caused the destruction of those Greeks who were stationed there. Afterwards, fearing the Lacedæmonians, he fled to Thessaly, and a price was set on his head by the Pylagori, when the Amphictyons were assembled at Pylæ. But some time after, he went down to Anticyra, and was killed by Athenades, a Trachinian. This Athenades killed him for another reason which I shall mention in a subsequent part of my history;[1] he was however rewarded none the less by the Lacedæmonians. Xerxes, exceedingly delighted with what Ephialtes promised to perform, immediately despatched Hydarnes with his troops from the camp about the hour of lamp-lighting.

All night long the Persians marched, and at dawn reached the summit of the mountain. Here, as I have already mentioned, a thousand heavy armed Phocians kept guard, to defend their own country, and to secure the pathway. The whole mountain was covered with oaks; there was a perfect calm, and as a considerable rustling took place from the leaves strewn under foot, the Phocians sprang up and put on their arms, just as the barbarians made their appearance. Hit by many thick-falling arrows, the Phocians fled to the summit of the mountain, prepared

[1] The promised account is nowhere given in any extant writings of the historian.

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to perish. But the Persians took no further notice of the Phocians, but marched down the mountain with all speed.

To the Greeks at Thermopylæ, the augur Megis-

BRIDGE AT CORFU.

tias, having inspected the sacrifices, first made known the death that would befall them in the morning; certain deserters afterwards came and brought intelligence of the circuit the Persians were taking while it

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was yet night; and, thirdly, the scouts running down from the heights, as soon as day dawned, brought the same intelligence. It had been announced to the Spartans, by the oracle of Apollo, when they went to consult concerning this war, "that either Lacedæmon must be overthrown by the barbarians, or their king perish." This answer the prophetess gave in hexameter verses to this effect:

> "Hear me, ye men of spacious Lacedæmon!
> Either your glorious town must be destroyed,
> By the fell hand of warriors sprung from Perseus,
> Or else the confines of fair Lacedæmon
> Must mourn a king of Heracleidan race,
> For all the strength of lions or of bulls
> Is nought to him who has the strength of Zeus;
> And never shall that monarch be restrained
> Until he takes your city or your king."

Xerxes poured out libations at sunrise, waited a short time, and began his attack about the time of full market, as he had been instructed by Ephialtes. The Greeks with Leonidas, marching out as if for certain death, now advanced much farther than before into the wide part of the defile. For the fortification of the wall had protected them on the preceding day, in the narrow part. But now, engaging outside the narrows, great numbers of the barbarians fell. The officers of the companies from behind, with scourges, flogged every man, constantly urging them forward, so that many of them, falling into the sea, perished, and many more were trampled alive under foot by

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one another; and no regard was paid to any that perished. The Greeks, knowing that death awaited them at the hands of those who were going round the mountain, were desperate, and regardless of their own lives displayed the utmost possible valor against the barbarians. Already were most of their javelins broken, and they had begun to despatch the Persians with their swords. In this part of the struggle fell Leonidas, fighting valiantly, and with him other eminent Spartans, whose names, seeing they were deserving men, I have ascertained; indeed I have ascertained the names of the whole three hundred. On the side of the Persians, also, many other eminent men fell on this occasion, amongst them two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, fighting for the body of Leonidas; and there was a violent struggle between the Persians and Lacedæmonians, until at last the Greeks rescued it by their valor, and four times repulsed the enemy. Thus the contest continued until the Greeks heard that those with Ephialtes were approaching. Then they retreated to the narrow part of the way, and, passing beyond the wall, came and took up their position on the rising ground, all in a compact body, with the exception of the Thebans: the rising ground is at the entrance where the stone lion now stands to the memory of Leonidas. On this spot they defended themselves, first with their swords, then with their hands and teeth, until the barbarians overwhelmed them

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with missiles in front, and from above, and on every side.

Dieneces, a Spartan, is said to have been the bravest man. They relate that before the engagement with the Medes, having heard a Trachinian say that when the barbarians let fly their arrows they would obscure the sun by the multitude of their shafts, so great were their numbers, he replied, not at all alarmed: "That's good; we shall have the pleasure, then, of fighting in the shade." In honor of the slain, who were buried on the spot where they fell, and of those who died before, these inscriptions have been engraved upon stones above them. The first:—

> "From Peloponnesus came four thousand men;
> And on this spot fought with three hundred myriads."

The second was in honor of the three hundred Spartans:—

> "Go, stranger! tell the Lacedæmonians, here
> We lie, obedient to their stern commands!"

An engraved monument was also erected to Megistias, the augur, by his friend Simonides, and was as follows:—

> "The monument of famed Megistias,
> Slain by the Medes what time they passed the Sperchius;
> A seer, who, though he knew impending fate,
> Would not desert the gallant chiefs of Sparta."

Two of these three hundred, Eurytus and Aristo-

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demus, had been dismissed from the camp by Leonidas, and were lying at Alpeni desperately afflicted with a disease of the eyes. But when Eurytus heard of the circuit made by the Persians, he called for his arms and ordered his helot to lead him to the combatants; and while the slave in terror ran away, his brave half-blind master rushed into the midst of the throng and perished; but Aristodemus, failing in courage, was left behind. Now if it had happened that Aristodemus had returned sick to Sparta, or if both had gone home together, in my opinion the Spartans would not have shown any anger against them. But since one of them perished, and the other, who had only the same excuse, refused to die, they must needs get exceedingly angry with Aristodemus. On his return to Lacedæmon he was met with insults and infamy. Not one of the Spartans would either give him fire or converse with him, and he was jeered and hooted at by the boys, who called him "Aristodemus the coward." However, in the battle of Platæa he removed all the disgrace that attached to him, for he earned the title of the bravest of the Spartans, and recklessly lost his life. Xerxes, after the massacre, passed through among the dead, and having heard that Leonidas was king and general of the Lacedæmonians, he commanded them to cut off his head and fix it upon a pole. It is clear to me from many other proofs, and not least of all from this, that King Xerxes was more highly incensed against

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Leonidas during his life, than against any other man; for otherwise he would never have violated the respect due to his dead body; since the Persians, most of all men with whom I am acquainted, are wont to honor men who are brave in war.

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URANIA.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE INVASION OF ATTICA AND THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

THE Greek fleet from Artemisium put in at Salamis at the request of the Athenians, who wished to remove their children and wives out of Attica, and consult what measures were to be taken. The Athenians caused proclamation to be made, "that every one should save his children and family by the best means he could." Thereupon the greatest part sent away their families to Trœzen, some to Ægina, and others to Salamis. They used all diligence to remove them to a place of safety, from a desire to obey the oracle, but more particularly for the following reason: The Athenians say that a large serpent used to live in the temple as a guard to the Acropolis; they used to do it honor by placing before it its monthly food, consisting of a honey-cake. This honey-cake in former time had always been consumed, but now it

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remained untouched. When the priestess made this known, the Athenians with more readiness abandoned the city, since even the goddess had forsaken the Acropolis. As soon as every thing had been deposited in a place of safety, they sailed to the encampment. Many more ships were assembled together than had fought at Artemisium, and from a greater number of cities. The same admiral commanded them as at Artemisium, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides, a Spartan, though he was not of the royal family. The Athenians, however, furnished by far the most and the best sailing ships. The whole number of ships besides the penteconters amounted to three hundred and seventy-eight.

When the leaders from the various cities met together at Salamis, they held a council, in which Eurybiades proposed that any one who chose should deliver his opinion, where he thought it would be most advantageous to come to an engagement by sea, of all the places of which they were still in possession: for Attica was already given up. Most of the opinions of those who spoke coincided, that they should sail to the Isthmus, and fight before Peloponnesus; alleging this reason, that if they should be conquered by sea while they were at Salamis, they would be besieged in the island, where no succor could reach them; but if at the Isthmus, they might escape to their own cities.

While the commanders from Peloponnesus were

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debating these matters, an Athenian arrived with intelligence that the barbarian had entered Attica, and was devastating the whole of it by fire. The army with Xerxes were thus three months en route from the passage over the Hellespont, till they arrived at Athens. They took the city, deserted of inhabitants, but found a few of the Athenians in the temple, with the treasurers of the temple

ANCIENT GREEK WALLS RESTORED.

and some poor people; who, having fortified the Acropolis with planks and stakes, tried to keep off the invaders: they had not withdrawn to Salamis, partly through want of means, and moreover they thought they had found out the meaning of the oracle which the Pythian delivered to them, that the wooden wall "should be impregnable;" imagining that this was the refuge according to the oracle, and

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not the ships. The Persians, posting themselves on the hill opposite the Acropolis, which the Athenians call the Areopagus, wrapped tow round their arrows, and, setting fire to it, shot them at the fence. But those Athenians who were besieged still defended themselves, though driven to the last extremity, and the fence had failed them; nor, when the Pisistratidæ proposed them, would they listen to terms of capitulation; but, still defending themselves, they contrived other means of defence, and when the barbarians approached the gates, they hurled down large round stones; so that Xerxes was for a long time kept in perplexity, not being able to capture them. At length, in the midst of these difficulties, an entrance was discovered by the barbarians; for it was necessary, according to the oracle, that all Attica, on the continent, should be subdued by the Persians. In front of the Acropolis, but behind the gates and where no one kept guard, nor would ever have expected that any man would ascend, there some of them ascended near the temple of Cecrops' daughter Aglauros. When the Athenians saw that the enemy were in the Acropolis, some threw themselves down from the wall and perished, and others took refuge in the recess of the temple. But the Persians who had ascended first turned to the gates, opened them, and put the suppliants to death; and when all were thrown prostrate, they pillaged the temple and set fire to the whole Acropolis.

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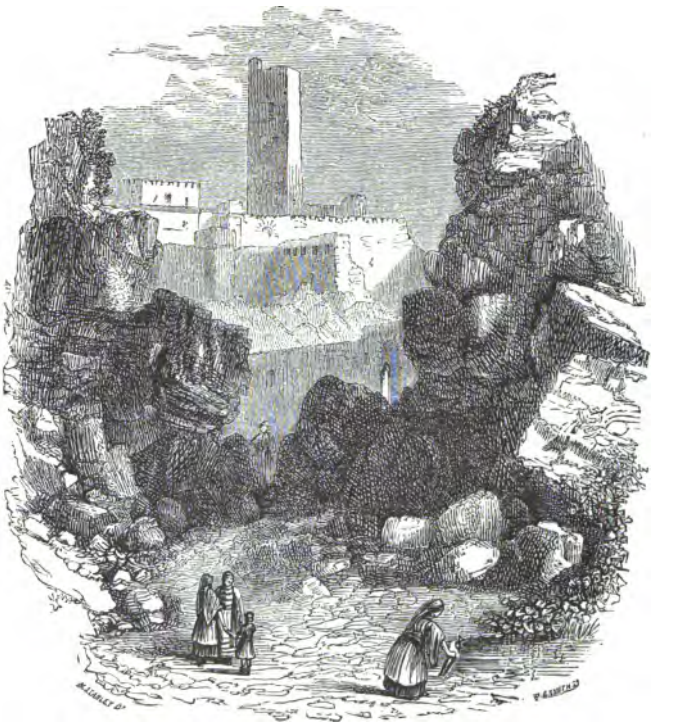
The Greeks at Salamis, when intelligence was brought them how matters stood in Athens, were



THE ACROPOLIS FROM THE FOUNTAIN OF THE AREOPAGUS.

thrown into such consternation, that some of the generals would not wait until the subject before them was decided on, but rushed to their ships and hoisted

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sail, as about to hurry away; by such of them as remained, it was determined to come to an engagement before the Isthmus. Night came on, and they, being dismissed from the council, went on board their ships. Thereupon Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, inquired of Themistocles, on his return to his ship, what had been determined on by them. And being informed by him that it was resolved to conduct the ships to the Isthmus, and to come to an engagement before the Peloponnesus, he said, "If they remove the ships from Salamis, you will no longer fight for any country; for they will each betake themselves to their cities; and neither will Eurybiades nor any one else be able to detain them, so that the fleet should not be dispersed; and Greece will perish through want of counsel. But, if there is any possible contrivance, go and endeavor to annul the decree, if by any means you can induce Eurybiades to alter his determination, so as to remain here." The suggestion pleased Themistocles exceedingly; and without answer he went to the ship of Eurybiades, and said that he wished to confer with him on public business. He desired him to come on board his ship, and say what he wished. Thereupon Themistocles, seating himself by him, repeated all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, making it his own, and adding much more, until he prevailed on him, by entreaty, to leave his ship, and assemble the commanders in council. The upshot of the matter was that Themistocles per-

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suaded the generals in council to remain and fight at Salamis. Day came, and at sunrise an earthquake took place on land and at sea. They determined to pray to the gods, and to invoke the Æacidæ as allies. For having prayed to all the gods, they forthwith, from Salamis, invoked Ajax and Telamon; and sent a ship to Ægina for Æacus, and the Æacidæ. In the mean time all the admirals and captains of Xerxes' fleet advised engaging in a sea-fight, except Artemisia, who spoke as follows: "Tell the king from me, Mardonius, that I say this. It is right that I, sire, who proved myself by no means a coward in the sea-fight off Eubœa, and performed achievements not inferior to others, should declare my real opinion, and state what I think best for your interest. Therefore I say this, abstain from using your ships, nor risk a sea-fight; for these men are as much superior to your men by sea, as men are to women. And why must you run a risk by a naval engagement? Have you not possession of Athens, for the sake of which you undertook this expedition, and have you not the rest of Greece? They will not be able to hold out long against you; but will soon disperse, and fly to their cities."

Xerxes was very much pleased with the opinion of Artemisia; he had before thought her an admirable woman, but now he praised her much more. However, he gave orders to follow the advice of the majority in this matter, thinking that they had be-

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haved ill at Eubœa on purpose, because he was not present. He now prepared in person to behold them engaging by sea.[1]

Meanwhile, those at Salamis were growing alarmed, and wondered at the imprudence of Eurybiades; till at last their discontent broke out openly, and a council was called, and much was said on the subject. Some said that they ought to sail for the Peloponnesus, and hazard a battle for that, and not stay and fight for a place already taken by the enemy; but the Athenians, Æginetæ, and Megareans, declared that they should stay there and defend themselves. Thereupon, Themistocles, when he saw his opinion was overruled by the Peloponnesians, went secretly out of the council, and despatched a man in a boat to the encampment of the Medes, instructing him what to say; his name was Sicinnus, and he was a domestic, and preceptor to the children of Themistocles. After these events, Themistocles got him made a Thespian, when the Thespians augmented the number of their citizens, and gave him a competent fortune. He, arriving in the boat, spoke as follows to the generals of the barbarians: "The general of the Athenians has sent me, unknown to the rest of the Greeks (for he is in the interest of the king, and wishes that your affairs may prosper, rather than those of the Greeks), to inform you that

[1] Seated on the mountain side upon a magnificent throne of ivory and gold, as others relate.

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the Greeks, in great consternation, are deliberating on flight; and you have now an opportunity of achieving the most glorious of all enterprises, if you do not suffer them to escape. For they do not agree among themselves, nor will they oppose you; but you will see those who are in your interest, and those who are not, fighting with one another." Having delivered this message to them, he immediately departed. As these tidings appeared to them worthy of credit, they immediately landed a considerable number of Persians on the little island of Psyttalea, lying between Salamis and the continent; and, when it was midnight, they got their western wing under way, drawing it in a circle toward Salamis, and those who were stationed about Ceos and Cynosura got under way and occupied the whole passage as far as Munychia with their ships, so that the Greeks might have no way to escape, but, being shut up in Salamis, might suffer punishment for the conflicts at Artemisium; and they landed the Persians at the little island of Psyttalea for this reason: that, when an engagement should take place, as they expected the greater part of the men and wrecks would be driven there, they might save the one and destroy the other. These things they did in silence, that the enemy might not know what was going on.

I am unable to speak against the truth of oracles, when I think of the remarkable oracle of Bacis: "When they shall bridge with ships the sacred shore

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of 'Diana with the golden sword,' and sea-girt Cynosura, having with mad hope destroyed beautiful Athens, then divine Vengeance shall quench strong Presumption, son of Insolence, when thinking to subvert all things. For bronze shall engage with bronze, and Mars shall redden the sea with blood. Then the far-thundering son of Saturn and benign victory shall bring a day of freedom to Greece." After such a prediction and its fulfilment, I neither dare myself say any thing in contradiction to oracles, nor allow others to do so.

All this night there was a great altercation between the generals at Salamis. They did not yet know that the barbarians had surrounded them with their ships. They supposed that they were in the same place where they had seen them stationed during the day. While the generals were disputing, Aristides, son of Lysimachus, crossed over from the Ægina. He was an Athenian, but had been banished by ostracism. From what I have heard of his manner of life, I consider him to have been the best and most upright man in Athens. He, standing at the entrance of the council, called Themistocles out, who was not indeed his friend, but his most bitter enemy; yet from the greatness of the impending danger, he forgot that, and called him, for he had already heard that those from Peloponnesus were anxious to get the ships under way for the Isthmus. When Themistocles came out, Aristides spoke as follows: "It is

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right that we should strive, both on other occasions, and particularly on this, which of us shall do the greatest service to our country. I assure you that to say little or much to the Peloponnesians about sailing from here is a waste of breath; for I, an eye-witness, tell you, now, even if they would, neither the Corinthians, nor Eurybiades himself, will be able to sail away; for we are on all sides enclosed by the enemy. Go in, and acquaint them with this." But Themistocles bade Aristides go in himself and convey the tidings. This he did, but the generals would not even then give credence to this report, until there arrived a trireme of Tenians that had deserted, which Panætius, son of Socimenes, commanded, and which brought an account of the whole truth. For that action, the name of the Tenians was engraved on the tripod at Delphi among those who had defeated the barbarian. With this ship that came over at Salamis, and with the Lemnian before, off Artemisium, the Grecian fleet was made up to the full number of three hundred and eighty ships; for before it wanted two of that number.

Day dawned, and when they had mustered the marines, Themistocles, above all the others, harangued them most eloquently. His speech was entirely taken up in contrasting better things with worse, exhorting them to choose the best of all those things which depended on the nature and condition of man. As soon as the trireme from Ægina, which had gone

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to fetch the Æacidæ, returned, the Greeks got all their ships under way. The barbarians immediately fell upon them. Now all the other Greeks began to back water and make for the shore; but Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, being carried onward, attacked a ship; and his ship becoming entangled with the other, and the crew not being able to clear, the rest thereupon came to the assistance of Aminias and engaged. Thus, the Athenians say, the battle commenced; but the Æginetæ affirm that the ship which went to Ægina to fetch the Æacidæ was the first to begin. It is also said that a phantom of a woman appeared to them, that she cheered them on, so that the whole fleet of Greeks heard her, after she had first reproached them in these words: "Dastards, how long will you back water?" Opposite the Athenians, the Phœnicians were drawn up, for they occupied the wing toward Eleusis and westward; opposite the Lacedæmonians, the Ionians occupied the wing toward the east and the Piræus. Of these, some few behaved ill on purpose, in compliance with the injunctions of Themistocles. The greater part of the ships were run down at Salamis, some being destroyed by the Athenians, others by the Æginetæ. For the Greeks fought in good order, in line, but the barbarians were neither properly formed, nor did any thing with judgment. However, they proved themselves to be far braver on this day than off Eubœa, every one exerting himself vigorously, and dreading

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Xerxes; for each thought that he himself was observed by the king.

I am unable to say with certainty how each of the barbarians or Greeks fought; but with respect to Artemisia, the following incident occurred, by which she obtained still greater credit with the king. For when the king's forces were in great confusion, the ship of Artemisia was chased by an Attic ship, and not being able to escape, she resolved upon a stratagem. For, being pursued by the Athenian, she bore down upon a friendly ship, manned by Calyndians, and with Damasithymus himself, king of the Calyndians, on board; whether she had any quarrel with him while they were at the Hellespont, I am unable to say, or whether she did it on purpose, or whether the ship of the Calyndians happened by chance to be in her way; however, she ran it down and sunk it, and, by good fortune, gained a double advantage to herself. For, when the captain of the Attic ship saw her bearing down on a ship of the barbarians, he concluded Artemisia's ship to be either a Greek, or one that had deserted from the enemy, and was assisting them, and so turned aside and attacked others. Thus she escaped, and in consequence of it became still more in favor with Xerxes. For it is said that Xerxes, looking on, observed her ship making the attack, and that some near him said: "Sire, do you see how well Artemisia fights; she has sunk one of the enemy's ships!" Whereupon he asked if it was

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in truth the exploit of Artemisia; they answered "that they knew the ensign of her ship perfectly well." But they thought that it was an enemy that was sunk; for no one of the crew of the Calyndian ship lived to tell the tale and accuse her. And it is related that Xerxes exclaimed: "My men have become women, and my women men!"

In this battle perished the admiral, Ariabignes, son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes, and many other illustrious men of the Persians and Medes, and the other allies; but only a very few of the Greeks; for as they knew how to swim, they whose ships were destroyed, and who did not perish in actual conflict, swam safe to Salamis; whereas, many of the barbarians, not knowing how to swim, perished in the sea. When the foremost ships were put to flight, then the greatest number were destroyed; for those who were stationed behind, endeavoring to pass on with their ships to the front, that they, too, might give the king some proof of their courage, fell foul of their own flying ships. The following event also occurred in this confusion. Some Phœnicians, whose ships were destroyed, went to the king and accused the Ionians of destroying their ships and betraying him. It however turned out that the Ionian captains were not put to death, but that those Phœnicians who accused them, received the following reward. For, while they were yet speaking, a Samothracian ship bore down on an Athenian ship and sunk it. Just then an

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Æginetan ship, coming up, sunk the ship of the Samothracians. But the Samothracians being javelin men, by hurling their javelins, drove the marines from the ship that had sunk them, and boarded and got possession of it. This action saved the Ionians: for when Xerxes saw them perform so great an exploit, he turned round upon the Phœnicians, and ordered their heads to be struck off, that they who had proved themselves cowards might no more accuse those who were braver.

The barbarians turned to flight, and sailing away towards Phalerus, the Æginetæ waylaid them in the strait, and performed actions worthy of record. For the Athenians in the rout ran down both those ships that resisted and those that fled; and the Æginetæ, those that sailed away from the battle: so that when any escaped the Athenians they fell into the hands of the Æginetæ.

In this engagement the Æginetæ obtained the greatest renown; and next, the Athenians. Aristides, of whom I made mention a little before as a most upright man, in this confusion that took place about Salamis, took with him a considerable number of heavy-armed men, who were stationed along the shore of the Salaminian territory and were Athenians by race, landed them on the island of Psyttalea, and put to the sword all the Persians who were on that little island.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

XERXES' RETREAT.

WHEN the sea-fight was ended, the Greeks hauled on shore at Salamis all the wrecks that still happened to be there, and held themselves ready for another battle, expecting the king would still make use of the ships that survived. But a west wind carrying away many of the wrecks, drove them on the shore of Attica, which is called Colias, so as to fulfil both all the other oracles delivered by Bacis and Musæus concerning this battle, and also that relating to the wrecks which were drifted on this shore, which many years before had been delivered by Lysistratus, an Athenian augur, but had not been understood by any of the Greeks: "The Colian women shall broil their meat with oars."

When Xerxes saw the defeat he had sustained, he was afraid that some of the Ionians might suggest to the Greeks, or might themselves resolve to sail to the Hellespont, for the purpose of breaking up the bridges, and shut him up in Europe. So he planned

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immediate flight. But wishing that his intention should not be known either to the Greeks or his own people, he pretended to throw a mound across to Salamis. He fastened together Phœnician merchantmen, that they might serve instead of a raft and a wall, and made preparation for war, as if about to fight another battle at sea. Everybody who saw him thus occupied was firmly convinced that he had seriously determined to stay and continue the war, except Mardonius, who was well acquainted with his design. At the same time Xerxes despatched a messenger to the Persians, to inform them of the misfortune that had befallen him. There is nothing mortal that reaches its destination more rapidly than these couriers of the Persians. They say that as many days as are occupied in the whole journey, so many horses and men are posted at regular intervals; neither snow nor rain, nor heat, nor night, prevents them from performing their appointed stage as quickly as possible. The first courier delivers his orders to the second, the second to the third, and so it passes throughout, being delivered from one to the other, just like the torch-bearing among the Greeks, which they perform in honor of Vulcan. The first message that reached Susa, with the news that Xerxes was in possession of Athens, caused so great joy among the Persians who had been left behind that they strewed all the roads with myrtle, burnt perfumes, and gave themselves up to sacrifices and

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festivity. But the arrival of the second messenger threw them into such consternation, that they all rent their garments, and uttered unbounded shouts and lamentations, laying the blame on Mardonius, not so much grieved for the ships as anxious for Xerxes himself. And this the Persians continued to do until Xerxes himself arrived home.

Mardonius, seeing Xerxes much afflicted by the defeat at Salamis, and suspecting he was meditating a retreat, thus addressed the king: "Sire, do not think you have suffered any great loss in consequence of what has happened; for the contest with us does not depend on wood alone, but on men and horses. Be not discouraged; for the Greeks have no means of escape from rendering an account of what they have done now and formerly, and from becoming your slaves. If you have resolved not to stay here, return to Susa, and take with you the greatest part of the army; but give me three hundred thousand picked men and I will deliver Greece to you reduced to slavery." Xerxes, delighted and relieved, granted Mardonius his request. As to Xerxes himself, if all the men and women of the world had advised him to stay, in my opinion, he would not have yielded, so great was his terror. Leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, he marched in all haste to the Hellespont; and arrived at the place of crossing in forty-five days, bringing back no part of his army, so to speak. Wherever, and among whatever nation, they hap-

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pened to be marching, they seized and consumed their corn; but if they found no fruit, overcome by hunger, they ate up the herbage as it sprung from the ground, and from sheer hunger stripped off the bark of trees, and gathered leaves, both of wild and cultivated plants. But a pestilence and dysentery falling on the army, destroyed them on their march. Such of them as were sick, Xerxes left behind, ordering the cities through which he happened to be passing, to take care of and feed them: some in Thessaly, others at Siris of Pæonia, and in Macedonia. It was here he had left the sacred chariot of Jupiter, when he marched against Greece, but he did not receive it back, as he returned; for the Pæonians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes demanded it back, said that the mares had been stolen, as they were feeding, by the upper Thracians, who dwell round the sources of the Strymon. There the king of the Bisaltæ and of the Crestonian territory, a Thracian, perpetrated a most unnatural deed; he declared that he would not willingly be a slave to Xerxes, but he went up to the top of Mount Rhodope, and enjoined his sons not to join the expedition against Greece. They, however, disregarded his prohibition, from a desire to see the war, and served in the army with the Persian: but when they all returned safe, six in number, their father had their eyes put out for this disobedience.

The Persians, in great haste, crossed over the

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Hellespont to Abydos in their ships; for they found the rafts no longer stretched across, but broken up by a storm. While detained there, they got more food than on their march, and having filled themselves immoderately, and drunk of different water, a great part of the army that survived, died; the rest with Xerxes reached Sardis. Another account is also given, that when Xerxes, in his retreat from Athens, arrived at Eion on the Strymon, from there he no longer continued his journey by land, but committed the army to Hydarnes to conduct to the Hellespont, and he himself went on board a Phœnician ship to pass over to Asia. During his voyage a violent and tempestuous wind from the Strymon overtook him; the storm increased in violence, and the ship was overloaded, many of the Persians having accompanied Xerxes. Then the king, becoming alarmed, called aloud, and asked the pilot if there was any hope of safety for them; and he said: "There is none, sire, unless we get rid of some of this crowd of passengers." Xerxes, hearing this answer, said: "O Persians, now let some among you show his regard for the king, for on you my safety seems to depend." Many, having done homage, leapt into the sea, and the ship, being lightened, thus got safe to Asia. It is added that Xerxes, immediately after he landed, presented the pilot with a golden crown, because he had saved the king's life; but ordered his head to be struck off, because he had

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occasioned the loss of many Persians. This story appears to me not at all deserving of credit, for if such a speech had been made by the pilot to Xerxes, I should not find one opinion in ten thousand to deny that the king would have sent down into the hold of the ship those who were on deck, since they were Persians, and Persians of high rank, and would have thrown into the sea a number of Phœnicians, equal to that of the Persians.

When the division of the booty after the battle of Salamis was completed, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus for the purpose of conferring the palm of valor upon him among the Greeks who had proved himself most deserving throughout the war. The generals distributed the ballots at the altar of Neptune, selecting the first and second out of all; thereupon every one gave his vote for himself, each thinking himself the most valiant; but with respect to the second place, the majority concurred in selecting Themistocles. So each had but one vote for first place, but Themistocles had a great majority for the second honor. Though the Greeks, out of envy, would not determine this matter, but returned to their several countries without coming to a decision, yet Themistocles was applauded and extolled throughout all Greece, as being by far the wisest man of the Greeks. Because he was not honored by those who fought at Salamis, although victorious, he immediately afterward went to Lacedæmon, hoping to be

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honored there. The Lacedæmonians received him nobly, and paid him the greatest honors. They gave the prize of valor to Eurybiades,—a crown of olive,—and of wisdom and dexterity to Themistocles,—also a crown of olive. And they presented him with the most magnificent chariot in Sparta, praising him highly, and on his departure three hundred chosen Spartans, called knights, escorted him as far as the Tegean boundaries. He is the only man that we know of whom the Spartans ever escorted on his journey.

Mardonius' first movement was to send Alexander, son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, as an ambassador to Athens; as well because the Persians were related to him as because he had been informed that Alexander was a friend and benefactor of the Athenians. For in this way he thought he should best be able to gain over the Athenians, having heard that they were a numerous and valiant people; and besides, he knew that the Athenians had been the principal cause of the late disaster of the Persians at sea. If these were won over, he hoped that he should easily become master at sea, which indeed would have been the case; and on land he imagined that he was much superior. Thus he calculated that his power would get the upper hand of the Greeks. But the Athenians gave the following answer to Alexander: "We ourselves are aware that the power of the Medes is far greater than ours; so that there is no need to

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insult us with that. But do not you attempt to persuade us to come to terms with the barbarian, for we will not. Go, and tell Mardonius that the Athenians say: 'So long as the sun shall continue in the same course as now, we will never make terms with Xerxes: but we will go out to oppose him, trusting in the gods, who fight for us, and in the heroes, whose temples and images he has burned. Know, therefore, if you did not know it before, that so long as one Athenian is left alive the fight shall be continued.'"

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CALLIOPE.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE WAR CONTINUED; BATTLE OF PLATÆA AND SIEGE OF THEBES.

When Alexander returned and made known to Mardonius the answer of the Athenians, he set out from Thessaly, and led his army in haste against Athens; and wherever he arrived from time to time, he joined the people to his own forces. So far were the leaders of Thessaly from repenting of what had been before done, that they urged on the Persian much more; and Thorax of Larissa, who had assisted in escorting Xerxes in his flight, now openly gave Mardonius a passage into Greece. When the army on its march arrived among the Bœotians, the Thebans endeavored to restrain Mardonius from advancing farther, assuring him that to take up his station there would be equivalent to subduing the whole of Greece without a battle. For if the Greeks should

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continue firmly united, as they had done before, it would be difficult even for all mankind to overcome them. "But," they continued, "if you do what we advise, you will without difficulty frustrate all their plans. Send money to the most powerful men in the cities; split Greece into parties, and then, with the assistance of those who side with you, you may easily subdue those who are not in your interest." But he was infatuated with a vehement desire to taking Athens a second time, and fondly hoped by signal-fires across the islands to make known to the king, while he was at Sardis, that he was in possession of Athens. When he arrived in Attica, he did not find the Athenians there, but was informed that most of them were at Salamis on board their ships. So he took the deserted city ten months after its capture by the king.

But Mardonius was by no means desirous to stay longer in Attica. He lingered awhile there to see what the Athenians would do, but neither ravaged nor injured the Attic territory, being in expectation all along that they would come to terms. But when he could not persuade them, he withdrew, before the Spartans, under Pausanias, could reach the Isthmus, having first set fire to Athens, and if any part of the walls, or houses, or temples happened to be standing, these he threw down and laid all in ruins. He marched out for the reason that the Attic country was not adapted for cavalry; and if he should be

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conquered in an engagement, there was no way to escape except through a narrow pass, so that a very small number of men could intercept them. He determined, therefore, to retire to Thebes, and to fight near a friendly city, and in a country adapted for cavalry.

The Lacedæmonians arrived at the Isthmus and went into camp. When the rest of the Peloponnesians, who favored the better cause, saw the Spartans marching out, they thought it would be a disgrace to absent themselves from the expedition of the Lacedæmonians. Accordingly, when the victims proved favorable, they all marched out from the Isthmus and advanced to Eleusis. The Athenians crossed over from Salamis, and joined them there. At Erythræ, in Bœotia, they learnt that the barbarians were encamped on the Asopus, at which they consulted together, and formed opposite at the foot of Mount Cithæron. When the Greeks did not come down to the plain, Mardonius sent against them all his cavalry, under command of Masistius, a man highly esteemed among the Persians. He was mounted on a Nisæan horse that had a golden bit, and was otherwise gorgeously caparisoned. When the cavalry rode up to the Greeks, they charged them in squadrons, and called them women. By chance the Megarians happened to be stationed in that part which was most exposed, and there the cavalry chiefly made their attack. The Megarians, being hard pressed, sent a

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herald to the Greek generals with this message: "The Megarians say, We, O confederates, are not

BŒOTIA.

able alone to sustain the Persian cavalry. So far we have held out against them by our constancy and

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courage, though hard pressed; but now, unless you will send some others to relieve us, we must abandon our post." Pausanias immediately called for volunteers to go to that position, and relieve the Megarians. When all the others refused, three hundred chosen men of the Athenians undertook to do it, whom Olympiodorus, son of Lampon, commanded. After a short but spirited battle, as the cavalry were charging, the horse of Masistius, being in advance of the others, was wounded in the flank by an arrow, and, in pain, reared and threw Masistius. As he fell, the Athenians immediately seized his horse and attacked him. At first they were unable to kill Masistius, he was so thoroughly armed. Underneath he had a golden cuirass covered with scales, and over the cuirass a purple cloak. By striking against the cuirass they did nothing; until one of them, perceiving what was the matter, pierced him in the eye. So he fell and died. The whole Persian army, and Mardonius most of all, mourned the loss of Masistius. They cut off their own hair and that of their horses and beasts of burden, and gave themselves up to unbounded lamentations. The sound reached over all Bœotia, of mourning for the loss of a man who, next to Mardonius, was most esteemed by the Persians and the king.

The Greeks placed the body on a carriage, and carried it along the line — an object worthy of admiration, on account of its stature and beauty — and

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the men, leaving their ranks, came out to view Masistius. After this, they determined to go down toward Platæa, for the Platæan territory appeared to be much more convenient for them to encamp in than the Erythræan, as it was better supplied with water. Over the foot of Mount Cithæron, near Hysiæ, into the Platæan territory they marched, and formed in line, nation by nation, near the fountain of Gargaphia, and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, on slight elevations and the level plain. The whole Grecian army assembled at Platæa, reckoning heavy-armed and light-armed fighting men, amounted to one hundred and ten thousand.

When the barbarians, with Mardonius, had ceased to mourn for Masistius, they also marched to the Asopus, which flows by Platæa, and on their arrival were drawn up by Mardonius. Of barbarians there were three hundred thousand, as has been already shown; but of Greeks, who were allies of Mardonius, no one knows the number, for they were not reckoned up; but, to make a guess, I conjecture that they were assembled to the number of fifty thousand. These were infantry; the cavalry were marshalled apart.

On the second day, both sides offered sacrifices. For the Greeks, Tisamenus, son of Antiochus, was the person who sacrificed, for he accompanied this army as diviner. The sacrifices were favorable to the Greeks, if they stood on the defensive; but if

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they crossed the Asopus and began the battle, not so.

To Mardonius, who was very desirous to begin the battle, the sacrifices were not propitious; but to him also, if he stood on the defensive, they were favorable; for he too adopted the Greek sacrifices, having for his diviner Hegesistratus, an Elean, and the most renowned of the Telliadæ. This man, before these events, the Spartans had taken and bound for death, because they had suffered many atrocious things from him. In this sad condition, as being in peril for his life, and having to suffer many tortures before death, he performed a deed beyond belief. For, as he was confined in stocks bound with iron, he got possession of a knife, which had by some means been carried in, and immediately cut off the broad part of his foot,—the most resolute deed I ever heard of. Then, as he was guarded by sentinels, he dug a hole through the wall and escaped to Tegea, travelling by night, and by day hiding himself in the woods and tarrying there. Thus, though the Lacedæmonians searched for him with their whole population, on the third night he arrived at Tegea; but they were struck with great amazement at his daring when they saw half his foot lying on the ground and were not able to find him. In time, cured of his wounds, he procured a wooden foot, and became an avowed enemy to the Lacedæmonians. However, at last his hatred conceived against the Lacedæmonians did not benefit him;

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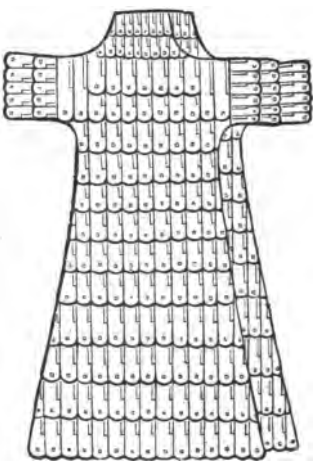
for he was taken by them when acting as diviner at Zacynthus and put to death. The death of Hegesistratus took place after the battle of Platæa: but at that time, on the Asopus, he was hired by Mardonius for no small sum to sacrifice, and was very zealous, both from hatred to the Lacedæmonians and from a love of gain.



COAT OF MAIL.

Meantime, Timagenides, a Theban, advised Mardonius to guard the passes of Mount Cithæron, saying that the Greeks were continually pouring in every day, and that he would intercept great numbers. Eight days had already elapsed since they had been posted opposite each other; but Mardonius thought the suggestion good, and, as soon as it was night, sent some cavalry to the passes of Cithæron, that lead to Platæa, which the Bœotians call The Three Heads; but the Athenians, The Heads of Oak. The horsemen that were sent did not arrive in vain; for, issuing on the plain, they took five hundred beasts carrying provisions from Peloponnesus to the army,

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with the men who attended the beasts of burden. The Persians not only took the booty, but killed without mercy, sparing neither beast nor man. Two more days passed, neither being willing to begin the battle; but when the eleventh day after the two armies had been encamped opposite each other in Platæa was almost gone, and the night was far advanced, and silence appeared to prevail throughout the camps, Alexander, son of Amyntas, who was general and king of the Macedonians, rode up on horseback to the sentries of the Athenians, and desired to confer with their generals. Most of the sentries remained at their posts, while some ran to the generals, and told them "that a man had come on horseback from the camp of the Medes, who uttered not a word more, but, naming the generals, said he wished to confer with them." They immediately repaired to the out-posts, and Alexander addressed them as follows: "O Athenians, I leave these words with you as a deposit, entreating you to keep them secret, and not tell them to any other than Pausanias, lest you should ruin me. I should not utter them were I not extremely concerned for the safety of all Greece; for I am myself a Greek by origin, and would by no means wish to see Greece enslaved instead of free. I tell you, then, that the victims have not been favorable to Mardonius and his army, or else you would have fought long ago; but now he has determined to dismiss the victims,

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and to come to an engagement at dawn of day, fearing, as I conjecture, that you may assemble in greater numbers. Therefore be ready. But if Mardonius should defer the engagement and not undertake it, persevere remaining where you are, for in a few days provisions will fail him And if this war should terminate according to your wishes, it is right that you should bear it in mind to effect my freedom, who on behalf of the Greeks have undertaken so hazardous a task as to acquaint you with the intention of Mardonius, in order that the barbarians may not fall upon you unexpectedly. I am Alexander, the Macedonian." Thus having spoken, he rode back to the camp and his own station.

The generals of the Athenians went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander; but, as the army was deprived of water, and harassed by the cavalry of Mardonius, they remained to deliberate on these and other matters. They had no longer any provisions, and their attendants, who had been despatched to the Peloponnesus to get provisions, were shut out by the cavalry and unable to reach the camp.

On consultation, the generals of the allies resolved if the Persians should defer making the attack on that day, to remove to the island of Oeroe, ten stades distant from the Asopus, on which they were then encamped. This is an island in the midst of the continent. For the river, dividing higher up, flows

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down to the plain from Mount Cithæron, having its streams about three stades separate from each other, and united together below. To this place they determined to remove, that they might have an abundant supply of water, and the cavalry might not harass them, as when they were directly opposite. So, in the night, at the hour agreed upon, they fled from the cavalry toward the city of the Platæans until they arrived at the temple of Juno, which stands before the city of the Platæans, twenty stades distant from the fountain of Gargaphia. They then encamped round the Heræum, and stood to their arms before the sacred precinct.

When Mardonius was informed that the Greeks had withdrawn under cover of night, and saw the place deserted, he summoned Thorax, of Larissa, and said: "O son of Aleuas, what will you say now, when you see this ground deserted? For you, their neighbor, said that the Lacedæmonians never fled from battle, but were the first of men in matters of war; but now we all see that they have fled away during the past night, in terror of us who are truly the most valiant in the world." Then, without more ado, he led the Persians at full speed, crossing the Asopus in the track of the Greeks, as if they had betaken themselves to flight. He directed his course only against the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans; for, on account of the hills, he did not espy the Athenians, who had turned into the plain. The rest of

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the commanders of the barbarians' brigades, seeing the Persians advancing to pursue the Greeks, all immediately took up their standards and pursued, each as quick as he could, without observing either rank or order; thus they advanced with a shout and in a throng, as if they were about to overwhelm the Greeks.

The Persians made a fence with their osier-shields, and let fly their arrows so incessantly that the Spartans being hard pressed, and the victims continuing unfavorable, Pausanias looked toward the temple of Juno of the Platæans, and invoked the goddess, praying that they might not be disappointed of their hopes.

While he was yet making this invocation, the Tegeans, starting first, advanced against the barbarians; and immediately after the prayer of Pausanias, the victims became favorable to the Lacedæmonians. Then they advanced against the Persians, who withstood them, laying aside their bows. First of all a battle took place about the fence of bucklers; and when that was thrown down, a long, obstinate fight ensued near the temple of Ceres, till at last they came to close conflict, when the barbarians laid hold of the Spartan spears and broke them. Indeed, in courage and strength, the Persians were not inferior, but were lightly armed, ignorant of military discipline, and not equal to their adversaries in skill. They rushed forward upon the Spartans, only to perish.

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In that part where Mardonius happened to be, fighting upon a white horse, at the head of a thousand chosen men, the best of the Persians, there they pressed their adversaries most vigorously. For as long as Mardonius survived, they held out, defended themselves, and overthrew many of the Lacedæmonians; but when Mardonius had died, and the troops stationed round him, which were the strongest, had fallen, then the rest turned to flight, and gave way to the Lacedæmonians. Their dress, too, was particularly disadvantageous to them, being destitute of defensive armor. Here satisfaction for the death of Leonidas, according to the oracle, was paid to the Spartans by Mardonius; and Pausanias obtained the most signal victory we have ever heard of. Mardonius died by the hand of Aïmnestus, a man of distinction at Sparta, who, some time after the Medic affairs, at the head of three hundred men, engaged at Stenyclerus with all the Messenians, and he himself perished and his three hundred. When the Persians at Platæa were put to flight by the Lacedæmonians, they fled in disorder to their own camp, and to the wooden fortification which they had made in the Theban territory. It is a wonder to me that, when they fought near the grove of Ceres, not one of the barbarians was seen to enter into the sacred enclosure, or to die in it, but most fell round the precinct in unconsecrated ground. I am of opinion, if it is allowable to form an opinion concerning divine things,

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JUNO.

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that the goddess would not receive them because they had burnt her royal temple at Eleusis.

When the Persians and the rest of the throng arrived in their flight at the wooden wall, they mounted the towers before the Lacedæmonians came up, and defended the wall in the best way they could, so that when the Lacedæmonians arrived, a vigorous battle took place before the walls. So long as the Athenians were absent, the barbarians defended themselves, and had much the advantage over the Lacedæmonians, as they were not skilled in attacking fortifications; but when the Athenians came, then a vehement fight at the walls took place, and continued for a long time. But at length the Athenians, by their valor and pluck, surmounted the wall, and made a breach; there at length the Greeks poured in. The Tegeans entered first, and plundered the tent of Mardonius, and among other things took away the manger for his horse, all of bronze, and well worth seeing. This manger of Mardonius the Tegeans placed in the temple of the Alean Minerva; but all the other things they took they carried to the same place as the rest of the Greeks. The barbarians no longer kept in close order, nor did any one think of valor; but they were in a state of consternation, as so many myriads of men were enclosed within so small a space; and the Greeks had such an easy opportunity of slaughtering them, that of an army of three hundred thousand men, except forty thousand

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with whom Artabazus fled, not three thousand survived. Of Lacedæmonians from Sparta, all that died

ELEGANT VASES AND AMPHORÆ.

in the engagement were ninety-one; of Tegeans, sixteen; and of Athenians, fifty-two,

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Pausanias made proclamation that no one should touch the booty, and commanded the helots to bring together all the treasures. Dispersing themselves through the camp, they found tents decked with gold and silver, and couches gilt and plated, and golden bowls, and cups, and other drinking vessels; they also found sacks on the wagons, in which were discovered gold and silver cauldrons: and from the bodies that lay dead they stripped bracelets, necklaces, and scimetars of gold; but no account at all was taken of the variegated apparel. Of this the helots stole a great deal and sold it to the Æginetæ, so that the great wealth of the Æginetæ here had its beginning, for they purchased gold from the helots as if it had been bronze. They collected the treasures together, and took from them a tithe for the god at Delphi, from which the golden tripod was dedicated, which stands on the three-headed bronze serpent, close to the altar; they also took a tithe for the god at Olympia, from which they dedicated the bronze Jupiter, ten cubits high; and a tithe to the god at the Isthmus, from which was made the bronze Neptune, seven cubits high. They divided the rest, and each took the share he was entitled to of the gold, silver, and other treasures, and beasts of burden. Now what choice treasures were given those others who most distinguished themselves at Platæa, is mentioned by no one. But for Pausanias, ten of every thing was selected and given him — slaves, horses,

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talents, camels, and all other treasures in like manner. It is said also that, when Xerxes fled from Greece, he left all his own equipage to Mardonius; Pausanias, therefore, seeing Mardonius' equipage furnished with gold, silver, and various-colored hangings, ordered the bakers and cooks to prepare a supper in the same manner as for Mardonius: and, astonished at the profusion set before him of gold and silver couches handsomely carved, and gold and silver tables, and magnificent preparations for the supper, he in derision ordered his own attendants to prepare a Laconian supper by the side of it, and when the repast was spread, the difference was so ridiculous that he laughed, and sent for the generals of the Greeks and said: "Men of Greece, I have called you together to show you the folly of the leader of the Medes, who left such sumptuous fare as this to come to us, who have such poor fare, to take it from us." A considerable time after these events, many of the Platæans found chests of gold and silver, and other precious things. And still later was discovered a skull without any seam, consisting of one bone, and an upper jaw which had teeth growing in a piece, all in one bone, both the front teeth and the grinders; and there was likewise discovered the skeleton of a man five cubits high.

When the Greeks had buried their dead in Platæa, they immediately determined, on consultation, to march against Thebes, and to demand the surrender

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of those who had sided with the Medes, amongst the first of them Timegenides and Attaginus, who were the chief leaders; and if they should not give them up, they resolved not to depart from the city before they had taken it. On the eleventh day after the engagement, they arrived and besieged the Thebans, requiring them to give up the men; and, receiving "No" for an answer, they ravaged the country, and attacked the walls. As they did not cease damaging them, on the twentieth day Timegenides spoke thus to the Thebans: "Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have so resolved that they will not give over besieging us until either they have taken Thebes, or you have delivered us up to them, let not the Bœotian territory suffer any more on our account. But if, being desirous of money, they demand us as a pretence, let us give them money from the public treasury: for we sided with the Mede by general consent, and not of ourselves alone. If, however, they carry on the siege really because they want us, we will present ourselves before them to plead our cause." He appeared to speak well and to the purpose; and the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, expressing their willingness to surrender the men. When they had agreed on these terms, Attaginus escaped from the city, and his sons, who were brought before him, Pausanias acquitted from the charge, saying that boys could have no part in the guilt of siding with the Mede. As to the others whom the

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Thebans delivered up, they thought that they should be admitted to plead their cause, and moreover trusted to repel the charge by bribery; but he, as soon as he had them in his power, suspecting this very thing, dismissed the whole army of the allies, and conducting the men to Corinth, put them to death.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

THE BATTLE OF MYCALE.

On the same day on which the defeat at Platæa occurred, another happened to take place at Mycale, in Ionia. For while the Greeks were stationed at Delos, there came to them, as ambassadors from Samos, Lampon, Athenagoras, and Hegesistratus, being sent by the Samians, unknown to the Persians. When they came to the generals, Hegesistratus urged that "if only the Ionians should see them, they would revolt from the Persians, and that the barbarians would not withstand them; or, if they should withstand them, the Greeks would not find any other such booty." Invoking, too, their common gods, he besought them to deliver Grecian men from servitude, and to repel the barbarian; and he said "that this would be easy for them to do, for their ships sailed badly, and were not fit to fight with them; and, if they suspected at all that they were leading them on deceitfully, they were themselves ready to go on board their ships as hostages." The Samian stranger was so earnest in his entreaties, that Leotychides

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asked: "O Samian friend, what is your name?" "Hegesistratus," he answered; upon which, interrupting the rest of his discourse, Leotychides exclaimed: "I accept the 'Hegesistratus,'[1] my Samian friend; only do you take care that before you sail away both you yourself, and those who are with you, pledge your faith that the Samians will be zealous allies to us." The Samians immediately pledged their faith and made oath of confederacy with the Greeks. The others sailed home, but he ordered Hegesistratus to sail with the fleet, regarding his name as an omen. The Greeks tarried that day, and on the next sacrificed auspiciously, Deiphonus, son of Evenius, of Apollonia, in the Ionian gulf, acting as diviner.

The following incident befell his father, Evenius: There are in this Apollonia sheep sacred to the sun, which by day feed near the river that flows from Mount Lacmon through the Apollonian territory into the sea, near the port of Oricus. But by night, chosen men, the most eminent of the citizens for wealth and birth, keep watch over them, each for a year; for the Apollonians set a high value upon these sheep, in consequence of some oracle. They are folded in a cavern at a distance from the city. There, once on a time, Evenius, being chosen, kept watch, and one night when he had fallen asleep dur-

[1] Hegesistratus means "leader of an army."

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ing his watch, wolves entered the cave and destroyed about sixty of the sheep. When he discovered what had happened, he mentioned it to no one, purposing to buy others and put them in their place. This occurrence, however, did not escape the notice of the Apollonians, and as soon as they discovered it they brought him to trial, and gave sentence that for having fallen asleep during his watch he should be deprived of sight. But after they had blinded Evenius, from that time forward neither did their sheep multiply, nor did the land yield its usual fruit. An admonition was given them at Dodona and Delphi, when they inquired of the prophets the cause of the present calamities, "that they had unjustly deprived Evenius, the keeper of the sacred sheep, of his sight; for they themselves had sent the wolves, and would not cease avenging him until the people should give such satisfaction for what they had done as he himself should choose and think sufficient; then the gods themselves would give such a present to Evenius, that most men would pronounce him happy from possessing it." The Apollonians, keeping this answer secret, deputed some of their citizens to negotiate the matter with Evenius. One day, when he was seated on a bench, they went and sat down by him, and conversed on different subjects, till at length they began to commiserate his misfortune, and leading him artfully on, they asked "what reparation he would choose if the Apollonians were willing to give him satisfaction for

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what they had done." Not having heard of the oracle, he made this choice: "If any one would give him the lands of certain citizens," naming those who he knew had the two best estates in Apollonia, "and besides these a house," which he knew was the handsomest in the city, he said "he would thenceforth forego his anger, and this reparation would content him." Immediately taking him up, they said: "The Apollonians make you this reparation for the loss of your eyes, in obedience to an oracle they have received." He thereupon was very indignant on hearing the whole truth, for he had been deceived; but the Apollonians bought the property from the owners, and gave him what he had chosen, and immediately the gift of divination was implanted in him, so that he became very celebrated.

Deiphonus, the son of this Evenius, was brought by the Corinthians to officiate as diviner to the army.

The Greeks at length determined to sail to the continent. Having, therefore, prepared boarding-ladders, and all other things that were necessary for a sea-fight, they sailed to Mycale. No one was seen near the camp ready to meet them, but they beheld the ships drawn up within the fortification, and a numerous land force disposed along the beach; thereupon Leotychides, advancing first in a ship, and nearing the beach as closely as possible, made proclamation by a herald to the Ionians, saying: "Men of Ionia, as many of you as hear me, attend to what I

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say; for the Persians will understand nothing of the advice I give you. When we engage, it behooves every one first of all to remember Liberty, and next, the watch-word — Hebe; and let him who does not hear this learn it from those who do hear." The meaning of this proceeding was the same as that of Themistocles at Artemisium; for either these words, being concealed from the barbarians, would induce the Ionians to revolt, or, if they should be reported to the barbarians, would make them distrustful of the Greeks. Then the Greeks put their ships to shore, landed on the beach, and drew up in order of battle. But when the Persians saw them preparing for action, and knew that they had admonished the Ionians, they suspected that the Samians favored the Greeks, and took away their arms.

Then the Greeks advanced toward the barbarians, and a rumor flew through the whole army that a herald's staff was seen lying on the beach, and that the Greeks had fought and conquered the army of Mardonius in Bœotia. Thus the interposition of heaven is manifest by many plain signs; since on this same day on which the defeat at Platæa took place, and when that at Mycale was just about to happen, a rumor reached the Greeks in this latter place; so that the army was inspired with much greater courage, and was more eager to meet danger.

The Athenians, and those who were drawn up next to them, forming about half the army, had to advance

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along the shore over level ground; but the Lacedæmonians and their associates, along a ravine and some hills. So that whilst the Lacedæmonians were making a circuit, those in the other wing were already engaged. Now, so long as the bucklers of the Persians remained standing, they defended themselves strenuously, and had not the worst of the battle; but when the Athenians and their comrades mutually encouraged one another, in order that the victory might belong to them, and not to the Lacedæmonians, they flew with such vigor into the battle, that the face of affairs was immediately changed. They broke through the bucklers and fell in a body upon the Persians. They sustained the attack and defended themselves for a time but at last fled to the fortification. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Trœzenians, drawn up in order together, following close upon them, rushed into the fortification at the same time. When the fortification was taken, the barbarians no longer thought of resisting, but all except the Persians betook themselves to flight; they, in small detachments, fought with the Greeks who were continually rushing within the fortification. And of the Persian generals, two made their escape, and two died. Artayntes and Ithramitres, commanders of the naval forces escaped; but Mardontes, and Tigranes, generals of the land army, died fighting. While the Persians were still fighting, the Lacedæmonians came up, and assisted in accomplish-

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ing the rest. Of the Greeks themselves many fell on this occasion, especially the Sicyonians, and their general Perilaus. The Samians, who were in the camp of the Medes and had been deprived of their arms, as soon as they saw the battle turning, did all they could, wishing to help the Greeks; and the rest of the Ionians, as the Samians led the way, fled from the Persians and attacked the barbarians. The Milesians had been appointed to guard the passes for

BAS-RELIEF OF THE MUSES.

the Persians, so that in the event of failure they might have guides to conduct them to the heights of Mycale. They, however, did everything contrary to what was ordered; guiding them in their flight by other ways which led to the enemy, and at last themselves assisted in slaying them. Thus Ionia revolted a second time from the Persians. In this battle of the Greeks, the Athenians most distinguished themselves. When they had killed most of the barbarians,

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some fighting and others flying, they brought out all the booty on the beach, including several chests of money, and burnt the ships and the whole fortification. Then they took into their alliance the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders, who were then serving with the Greeks, bound them by pledges and oaths that they would remain firm and not revolt; then sailed to the Hellespont, and home.

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Synchronistical Table of the Principal Events in Herodotus.

GREEKS.

Attica, Bœotia, Phocis, Ætolia, etc.

	B. C.
Deucalion	1570
Cecrops	1550
Erectheus	1510
Ion, son of Xuthus	1427
Rape of Medea by the Argonauts,	1349
Theseus defeated Eurystheus	1311
Decaleans give up Helen to the Tyndaridæ	1256
Pelasgians expelled from Attica conquer Lemnos	1162
Codrus	1153
Rape of Athenian women from Brauron	1152
Alcmæon, the last Archon	683
Conspiracy of Ceylon	612
Legislation of Solon	594
Megacles married Clisthenes' daughter	570
Pisistratus, tyrant	561

Peloponnesus

	B. C.
Rape of Io from Argos	1687
Pelops conquers the Peloponnesians	1362
Eurystheus conquered	1311
Rape of Helen	1290
Aristodemus conquers the Peloponnesians	1190

Lacedæmon.

Procles and Eurysthenes kings	1178
Theras col. Callista (Thera)	1150
Lycurgus	884
Battus migrates from Cal. and founds Cyrene	632
First war with Tegea	620
Ariston and Anaxandrides, kings of Lacedæmon	574

Corinth.

Oligarchy of Bacchiadæ.	
Cypselus born	700
Seizes the tyranny	663
Periander	633
Banishes Lycophron	575
Sends 300 Corcyræan boys to Alyattes	565
Dies	563

Greeks in Asia and the Islands

	B. C.
Ion goes to Asia	1491
Æolian migrations under Orestes, Penthilus, and Echelatus	1210–1124
Ionian migrations (driven from the Peloponnesus by the Achæans)	1130
Dorian migration.	
Samians reach Tartessus	640
Thrasybulus	625
Conquered by Cræsus	
Conquered by Harpagus	542
Phocæans defeat Carthaginians, etc.	
Found Hyela	535

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Expelled 559
Re-established 555
Re-expelled 553
Regains it 542
Dies 528
Hipparchus succeeds 528
Assassination of Cimon . . . 527
Hipparchus assassinated . . . 514
Hippias succeeds 514
Expelled 510
Factions of Clisthenes and Isagoras 509
Clisthenes expelled 508
Invasion of Cleomenes . . . 507
Athenians defeat the Bœotians, invade Eubœa, and conquer the Chalcidians 506
Miltiades gains the battle of Marathon 490
Dies 489
Xerxes takes Athens 480
Battle of Salamis 480
Mardonius retakes Athens . . 479

Ally with Crœsus . . . 554
Tegea taken 546
War with Argives about Thyrea 545
Send troops against Polycrates 525
Demaratus 520
Cleomenes 515
Dorieus migrates to Libya 515
Cleomenes violates the Argive grove . . . 514
Cleomenes expels Clisthenes from Athens . 508
Invades Attica . . . 507
Demaratus exiled . . 492
Leotychides king . . 492
Cleomenes kills himself 490
Leonidas slain at Thermopylæ 480
Pausanias wins at Platæa 479
Leotychides at Mycale 479

Miltiades, son of Cypselus, founds Chersonesus . . 560
Stesagoras succeeds 531
Miltiades, son of Cimon, succeeds 515
Takes Lemnos . . 510
Retires before the Scythians . . . 507
Escapes from the Persians to Imbros 497
At the battle of Salamis 480

Polycrates tyrant at Samos . . . 532–523
Samians found Cydonia 524
Syloson obtains Samos 512
Ionians commence disturbances 504
Burn Sardis 503
Joined by the Cyprians 502
Miletus taken . . . 498
Aristagoras slain . . 498
Samians take Zancle . 497
Chios, Tenedos, etc., taken by the Persians 497
Phocians defeat Thessalians 482
Ionians join the allies at Mycale . . . 479

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Synchronistical Table of the Principal Events (*continued*).

BARBARIANS.

Phœnicians.	*Egyptians.*	*Assyrians and Babylonians.*		*Lydians*	*Scythians and Cimmerians.*
			B. C.		
Migrated from the Erythræan to Phœnicia, about 2267.	God - Kings, 17570 to 15570.	Empire	1221 — 711	Atyadæ to 1221. Heraclidæ, 1221 — 716	Cimmerians invade Asia, but expelled by the Scythians about 624.
		Semiramis	747 — 713	Gyges, 716.	
Colonized Thasos, 1550.	Menes to Mœris, 2235 to 1416.	Medic revolt	711	Ardys, 678. Cimmerians take Sardis, 634. Sadyattes, 629. Milesian war, 622 – 610. Alyattes, 617. Drove out Cimmerians, 613. War with Cyaxares, 602. Crœsus, 560.	Scythians rule Upper Asia, 624 to 596.
Founded Carthage, 819.	Sesostris to Sethon, 1416 to 671.	*Babylonia.*	*Media, etc.*		Invaded by Darius, 508.
Circumnavigate Libya, 609.	Twelve Kings to Amasis, 671 to 525.	Nitocris, 604 to 561. Turns the Euphrates and improves Babylon.	Deioces, 700 Div. the Medes. Phraortes, 647. Invades Assyria. Perished before Nineveh. Cyaxares, 625. Conq. Assyria. Besieges Nineveh, 603. Scythian invasion, 624 — 596. Astyages, 585. Cyrus born, 571. King in sport, 561.		Invade the Chersonesus; Miltiades retires, 507.
		Labynetus (Belshazzar), son of Nitocris, succeeds. Arbitrates between Cyaxares and Alyattes		Conquers Greeks.	
				Visited by Solon.	

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Persian Empire.

CYRUS, king, 550.
Attacked by Crœsus. Conquers Lydia, and takes Sardis. Mazares punishes Lydian rebels. Harpagus takes Phocæa, conquers Ionia and Æolis.
Babylon taken by Cyrus, 536.
Massagetan expedition. Cyrus slain, 530.

CAMBYSES, 530 — 523. Conquers Egypt, 525. Unsuccessful expedition against the Ethiopians and Ammonians. Wounds Apis. Goes mad. Slays his brother Smerdis. Marries and kills his sister. Magian revolt. Dies, 523.

SMERDIS MAGUS, 523. Conspiracy of the Seven. Death of the Magi.

DARIUS, 522 — 485. Sends Democydes to spy Greece. Babylonian revolt. Babylon taken by Zopyrus, 516. Restored Syloson to Samos, 512. Barca conquered, 512. Invades Scythia, 508. Megabazus subdues Thrace. Otanes subdues Lemnos and Imbros. Disturbances in Ionia. Burning of Sardis, 503. Cyprians join the revolt, 502; conquered, 501. Miletus taken, 498. Pacification of Ionia, 497. Mardonius marches against Greece, 495. Wrecked at Athos. Darius sends to Greece for earth and water. 493. Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes, 492; enslave Naxos and Eretria, 490. Marathon, 490. Preparation for another invasion, 489. Egyptian revolt, 486.

XERXES, 485 — 479. Subdues Egypt, 484. Prepares for a Greek expedition. Leaves Susa, April, 481. Winters at Sardis. Battle of Thermopylæ, 480. Takes Athens, 480. Battle of Salamis, September, 480. Retires to Asia. Mardonius defeated at Platæa, and the Persian fleet at Mycale, the same day, Sept. 22, 479.

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HERODOTEAN WEIGHTS AND MONEY, DRY AND LIQUID MEASURES, AND MEASUREMENTS OF LENGTH.

EUBŒIC OR ATTIC SILVER WEIGHTS AND MONEY.

		WEIGHT (Avoirdupois).			VALUE.
		lbs.	oz.	grs.	
1 Obol		—	—	11.08	$.033
6 Obols	1 Drachma	—	—	66.5	.198
100 Drachmæ	1 Mina	—	15	33.75	19.784
60 Minæ	1 Talent	56	15¼	100.32	1187.00

ÆGINETAN SILVER WEIGHTS AND MONEY.

		lbs.	oz.	grs.	
1 Obol		—	—	16	$.04½
6 Obols	1 Drachma	—	—	96	27.00
100 Drachmæ	1 Mina	1	5¾	78.96	—
60 Minæ	1 Talent	82	3¾	30.46	1620.00

The gold Stater of Crœsus and the gold Daric are each supposed to be worth about 20 Attic silver drachmæ, or about $4.00 in our money.

Herodotus makes the Babylonian Talent equal to 70 Eubœic Minæ, but Hussey calculates its weight at *71lbs. 1½oz. 69.45grs.* If, however, these are reckoned by comparison with our gold money, they are worth much more.

ATTIC DRY MEASURES.

		Gallons.	Quarts.
1 Chœnix		—	1
48 Chœnices	1 Medimnus	12	—
1 Medimnus and 3 Chœnices	1 Persian Artaba	12	3

LIQUID MEASURES.

		Gallons.	Pints.
1 Chœnix		—	1½
48 Chœnices	1 Amphora	9	—

Hesychius considers the Aryster to be the same as the Cotyla, which Hussey calculates to hold half a pint.

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

		Miles.	Yards.	Feet.	Inches.
1 Digit (finger's breadth)		—	—	—	.7584
4 Digits	1 Palm (hand-breadth)	—	—	—	3.0336
3 Palms	1 Span	—	—	—	9.1006
4 Palms	1 Foot	—	—	1	0.1358
2 Spans or 6 Palms	1 Cubit	—	—	1	6.201
1 Cubit and 6 Digits	1 Royal Cubit	—	—	1	8.4768
4 Cubits	1 Fathom (Orgya)	—	—	6	0.81
100 Feet or 16⅔ Orgyæ	1 Plethrum	—	33	2	1.5
6 Plethra	1 Stadium	—	202	0	9
30 Stadia	1 Persian Parasang	3	787	1	6
2 Parasangs	1 Schœnus	6½	494	3	0

The Egyptian Cubit contained nearly 17⅞ inches.

The Arura contained 21,904 square English feet, or a fraction over half an acre.

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